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# HUDIBRAS,

by

SAMUEL BUTLER;

WITH NOTES

BY THE

REV. TREADWAY RUSSEL NASH, D.D.

A NEW EDITION, IN TWO VOLUMES.

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# HUDIBRAS.



## PART II. CANTO III.

### **THE ARGUMENT.**

**The Knight, with various doubts possest,  
To win the Lady goes in quest  
Of Sidrophel the Rosy-crucian,  
To know the dest'nies' resolution:  
With whom being met, they both chop logic  
About the science astrologic.  
'Till falling from dispute to fight,  
The Conjuror's worsted by the Knight.**

# HUDIBRAS.

## CANTO III.<sup>1</sup>

DOUBTLESS the pleasure is as great  
Of being cheated, as to cheat;<sup>2</sup>  
As lookers-on feel most delight,  
That least perceive a juggler's flight,  
And still the less they understand, 5  
The more th' admire his slight of hand.  
Some with a noise, and greasy light,  
Are snapt, as men catch larks by night;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As the subject of this canto is the dispute between Hudibras and an astrologer, it is prefaced by some reflections on the credulity of men. This exposes them to the artifices of cheats and impostors, not only when disguised under the characters of lawyers, physicians, and divines, but even in the questionable garb of wizards and fortune-tellers.

<sup>2</sup> *Doubtless the pleasure is as great*

*Of being cheated, as to cheat;*] Swift, in the Tale of a Tub, (digression on madness) places happiness in the condition of being well deceived, and pursues the thought through several pages. Aristippus being desired to resolve a riddle, replied, that it would be absurd to resolve that which unresolved afforded so much pleasure.

— cui sic extorta voluptas,

Et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.

Hor. lib. ii. epist. ii. 140.

<sup>3</sup> *Some with a noise, and greasy light,*

*Are snapt, as men catch larks by night,*] The first line alludes to the morning and evening lectures, which, in those times of pretended reformation and godliness, were delivered by candle-light, in many churches, for a great part of the year. To maintain, and frequent these, was deemed the greatest evidence of religion and sanctity. The gifted preachers were very loud. The simile, in the

Ensnar'd and hamper'd by the soul,  
 As nooses by the legs catch fowl.<sup>a</sup> 10  
 Some, with a med'cine, and receipt,  
 Are drawn to nibble at the bait ;<sup>b</sup>  
 And tho' it be a two-foot trout,  
 'Tis with a single hair pull'd out.<sup>c</sup>

Others believe no voice t' an organ 15  
 So sweet as lawyer's in his bar-gown,<sup>d</sup>  
 Until, with subtle cobweb-cheats,  
 They're catch'd in knotted law, like nets ;  
 In which, when once they are imbrangled,  
 The more they stir, the more they're tangled ;

second line, is taken from the method of catching larks at night, in some countries, by means of a low-bell and a light.

<sup>a</sup> *As nooses by the legs catch fowl.*] Woodcocks, and some other birds, are caught in springes.

<sup>b</sup> *Some, with a med'cine, and receipt,*

*Are drawn to nibble at the bait ;*] Are cheated of their money by quacks and mountebanks, who boast of nostrums, and infallible recipes. Even persons who ought to have more discernment are sometimes taken in by these cozeners. In later times, the admirers of animal magnetism would perhaps have ranked with this order of wiseacres, and been proper objects of Mr. Butler's satire.

<sup>c</sup> *And tho' it be a two-foot trout,*

*'Tis with a single hair pull'd out.*] That is, though it be a sensible man, and one as unlikely to be caught by a medicine and a receipt, as a trout two feet long to be pulled out by a single hair.

<sup>d</sup> *Others believe no voice t' an organ.*

*So sweet as lawyer's in a bar-gown,*] In the hope of promised success many are led into broils and suits, from which they are not able to extricate themselves till they are quite ruined. See Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxx. cap. 4. where the evil practices of the lawyers under Valens and Valentinian, are strongly and inimitably painted : happy would it be for the world, if the picture had not its likeness in modern times, but was confined to the decline of the Roman empire.

And while their purses can dispute,  
There's no end of th' immortal suit.

Others still gape t' anticipate  
The cabinet designs of fate,<sup>a</sup>  
Apply to wizards, to foresee 25  
What shall, and what shall never be;<sup>b</sup>  
And as those vultures do forbode,<sup>c</sup>  
Believe events prove bad or good.  
A flam more senseless than the roguery  
Of old aruspicy and aug'ry,<sup>d</sup> 30  
That out of garbages of cattle  
Presag'd th' events of truce or battle;

<sup>a</sup> *Others still gape t' anticipate*

*The cabinet designs of fate,*] A natural desire; but if too much indulged, a notable instance of human weakness.

<sup>b</sup> *Apply to wizards, to foresee*

*What shall, and what shall never be;*

O Lærtiade, quicquid dicam aut erit, aut non.

Divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.

Horat. Sat. lib. ii. Sat. v. v. 59.

<sup>c</sup> *And as those vultures do forebode,*] Vultures are birds of prey; and here put figuratively for astrologers: or the word may be used equivocally, as soothsayers took their omens from eagles, vultures, ravens, and such birds.

<sup>d</sup> *A flam more senseless than the roguery*

*Of old aruspicy and aug'ry,*] Aruspicy was a kind of divination by sacrifice; by the behaviour of the beast before it was slain; by entrails after it was opened; or by the flames while it was burning. Augury was a divination from appearances in the heavens, from thunder, lightning, &c. but more commonly from birds, their flight, chattering, manner of feeding, &c. Thus Ovid:

Hæc mihi non ovium fibræ, tonitrusve sinistri,

Linguæ servatæ, pennæ, dixit avis.

Ovid. Trist. lib. i. eleg. viii. 49.

Mirari se ajebat M. Cato, quod non rideret haruspex, haruspicem cum vidisset. Tullius de Divinat. ii. 24. et de Natura Deorum, i. 26.

From flight of birds, or chickens pecking,  
Success of great'st attempts would reckon :  
Tho' cheats, yet more intelligible 35  
Than those that with the stars do fribble.  
This Hudibras by proof found true,  
As in due time and place we'll shew :  
For he, with beard and face made clean,  
Being mounted on his steed again, 40  
And Ralpho got a cock-horse too,  
Upon his beast, with much ado,  
Advanc'd on for the widow's house,  
T' acquit himself, and pay his vows ;  
When various thoughts began to bustle, 45  
And with his inward man to justle.  
He thought what danger might accrue,  
If she should find he swore untrue ;  
Or if his squire or he should fail,  
And not be punctual in their tale, 50  
It might at once the ruin prove  
Both of his honour, faith, and love :  
But if he should forbear to go,  
She might conclude he 'ad broke his vow ;  
And that he durst not now, for shame, 55  
Appear in court to try his claim.  
This was the penn'worth of his thought,  
To pass time, and uneasy trot.  
Quoth he, In all my past adventures  
I ne'er was set so on the tenters, 60  
Or taken tardy with dilemma,  
That, ev'ry way I turn, does hem me,

And with inextricable doubt,  
 Besets my puzzled wits about :  
 For though the dame has been my bail,           65  
 To free me from enchanted jail,  
 Yet, as a dog committed close  
 For some offence, by chance breaks loose,  
 And quits his clog ; but all in vain,  
 He still draws after him his chain :<sup>3</sup>           70  
 So tho' my ancle she has quitted,  
 My heart continues still committed ;  
 And like a bail'd and mainpriz'd lover,<sup>4</sup>  
 Altho' at large, I am bound over :  
 And when I shall appear in court           75  
 To plead my cause, and answer for't,

<sup>3</sup> *Yet, as a dog committed close*

*For some offence, by chance breaks loose,*

*And quits his clog ; but all in vain,*

*He still draws after him his chain :*] Persius applies this simile to the case of a person who is well inclined, but cannot resolve to be uniformly virtuous.

*Nec tu, cum obstiteris semel, instantique negaris*

*Parere imperio, rupi jam vincula, dicas :*

*Nam et luctata canis nodum arripit ; attamen illi,*

*Cum fugit, a collo trahitur pars longa catenæ.*

Sat. V. v. 157.

Yet triumph not ; say not, my bands are broke,

And I no more go subject to the yoke ;

Alas ! the struggling dog breaks loose in vain,

Whose neck still drags along a trailing length of chain.

Brewster.

Petrarch has applied this simile to love, as well as our author.

<sup>4</sup> *And like a bail'd and mainpriz'd lover,]* Mainprized signifies one delivered by the judge into the custody of such as shall undertake to see him forthcoming at the day appointed.



Unless the judge do partial prove,  
 What will become of me and love ?  
 For if in our accounts we vary,  
 Or but in circumstance miscarry; 80  
 Or if she put me to strict proof,  
 And make me pull my doublet off,  
 To shew, by evident record,  
 Writ on my skin, I've kept my word,  
 How can I e'er expect to have her, 85  
 Having demurr'd unto her favour ?  
 But faith, and love, and honour lost,  
 Shall be reduc'd t' a knight o' th' post :<sup>s</sup>  
 Beside, that stripping may prevent  
 What I'm to prove by argument, 90  
 And justify I have a tail,  
 And that way, too, my proof may fail.  
 Oh ! that I could enucleate,<sup>6</sup>  
 And solve the problems of my fate ;  
 Or find, by necromantic art,<sup>7</sup> 95  
 How far the dest'nies take my part ;

<sup>s</sup> *But faith, and love, and honour lost,*

*Shall be reduc'd t' a knight o' th' post :*] This is, one who in court, or before a magistrate, will swear as he hath been previously directed. I have somewhere read that such persons formerly plied about the portico in the Temple, and from thence were called knights of the *post* : and knights, perhaps, from the knights templars being buried in the adjoining church. [A hireling evidence ; a knight dubbed at the whipping post, or pillory. Johnson's Dictionary by Todd.]

<sup>6</sup> *Oh ! that I could enucleate,*] Explain, or open ; an expression taken from the cracking of a nut.

<sup>7</sup> *Or find, by necromantic art,*] Necromancy, or the black art, as it is vulgarly called, is the faculty of revealing future events, from

For if I were not more than certain  
 To win and wear her, and her fortune,  
 I'd go no farther in this courtship,  
 To hazard soul, estate, and worship : 100  
 For tho' an oath obliges not,  
 Where any thing is to be got,<sup>a</sup>  
 As thou hast prov'd, yet 'tis profane,  
 And sinful, when men swear in vain.  
 Quoth Ralph, Not far from hence doth dwell  
 A cunning man, hight Sidrophel,<sup>b</sup>

consultation with demons, or with departed spirits. It is called the black art, because the ignorant writers of the middle age, mistaking the etymology, write it nigromantia : or because the devil was painted black.

<sup>a</sup> *For tho' an oath obliges not,*

*Where any thing is to be got,*] The notions of the dissenters with regard to this, and other points of a like nature, are stated more at large in some preceding cantos.

<sup>b</sup> *A cunning man, hight Sidrophel,*] Some have thought that the character of Sidrophel was intended for sir Paul Neal; but the author, probably, here meant it for William Lilly, the famous astrologer and almanack maker, who at times sided with the parliament. He was consulted by the royalists, with the king's privy, whether the king should escape from Hampton-court, whether he should sign the propositions of the parliament, &c. and had twenty pounds for his opinion. See the life of A. Wood, Oxford, 1772, p. 101, 102. and his own life, in which are many curious particulars. Till the king's affairs declined he was a cavalier, but after the year 1645 he engaged body and soul in the cause of the parliament : he was one of the close committee to consult about the king's execution. At the latter end of his life he resided at Hershams, in the parish of Walton-upon-Thames, practised physic, and went often to Kingston to attend his patients. But probably the most profitable trade of Dee, Kelly, Lilly, and others of that class, was that of spies, which they were for any country or party that employed them. *Hight*, that is, called, from the A. S. *hatan*, to call.

That deals in destiny's dark counsels,  
 And sage opinions of the moon sells,<sup>1</sup>  
 To whom all people far and near,  
 On deep importances repair : 110  
 When brass and pewter hap to stray,  
 And linen slinks out of the way ;  
 When geese and pullen are seduc'd,<sup>2</sup>  
 And sows of sucking pigs are chows'd ;  
 When cattle feel indisposition, 115  
 And need the opinion of physician ;  
 When murrain reigns in hogs or sheep,  
 And chickens languish of the pip ;  
 When yeast and outward means do fail,  
 And have no pow'r to work on ale ; 120  
 When butter does refuse to come,<sup>3</sup>  
 And love proves cross and humoursome ;  
 To him with questions, and with urine,  
 They for discov'ry flock, or curing.  
 Quoth Hudibras, This Sidrophel 125  
 I've heard of, and shou'd like it well,  
 If thou canst prove the saints have freedom  
 To go to sorc'ers when they need 'em.<sup>4</sup>

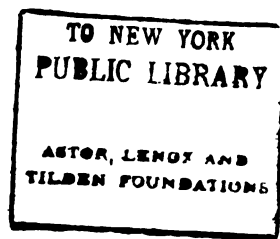
<sup>1</sup> *And sage opinions of the moon sells,*] i. e. the omens which he collects from the appearance of the moon.

<sup>2</sup> *When geese and pullen are seduc'd,*] Pullen, that is, poultry.

<sup>3</sup> *When butter does refuse to come,*] When a country wench, says Mr. Selden in his Table Talk, cannot get her butter to come, she says the witch is in the churn.

<sup>4</sup> *If thou canst prove the saints have freedom*

*To go to sorc'ers when they need 'em.*] It was a question much agitated about the year 1570, *Utrum liceat homini christiano sortiariorum operâ et auxilio uti.*





ROBERTSON, the 'WITTED' THUNDERER.

*from a rare print.*

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Says Ralpho, There's no doubt of that ;  
 Those principles I've quoted late, 130  
 Prove that the godly may allege  
 For any thing their privilege,  
 And to the devil himself may go,  
 If they have motives thereunto :  
 For as there is a war between 135  
 The dev'l and them, it is no sin  
 If they, by subtle stratagem,<sup>a</sup>  
 Make use of him, as he does them.  
 Has not this present parl'ament  
 A ledger to the devil sent,<sup>b</sup> 140  
 Fully empower'd to treat about  
 Finding revolted witches out ?<sup>c</sup>  
 And has not he, within a year,  
 Hang'd threescore of 'em in one shire ?<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *If they, by subtle stratagem,*] Dolus an Virtus, quis in hoste requirat ?

<sup>b</sup> *Has not this present parl'ament*

*A ledger to the devil sent,*] That is, an ambassador. The person meant was Hopkins, the noted witch-finder for the associated counties.

<sup>c</sup> *Fully empower'd to treat about*

*Finding revolted witches out ?*] That is, revolted from the parliament.

<sup>d</sup> *And has not he, within a year,*

*Hang'd threescore of 'em in one shire ?*] It is incredible what a number of poor, sick, and decrepit wretches were put to death, under the pretence of their being witches. Hopkins occasioned threescore to be hung in one year, in the county of Suffolk. See Dr. Hutchinson, p. 59. Dr. Grey says, he has seen an account of between three and four thousand that suffered, in the king's dominions, from the year 1640 to the king's restoration. "In December 1649," says Whitelock, "many witches were apprehended. The witch-trier taking a pin,

Some only for not being drown'd, 145  
 And some for sitting above ground,  
 Whole days and nights upon their breeches,  
 Not feeling pain, were hang'd for witches;  
 And some for putting knavish tricks  
 Upon green geese and turkey-chicks, 150  
 Or pigs, that suddenly deceast,  
 Of griefs unnat'ral, as he guest;  
 Who after prov'd himself a witch,  
 And made a rod for his own breech.\*  
 Did not the dev'l appear to Martin. 155  
 Luther in Germany for certain ?<sup>1</sup>  
 And wou'd have gull'd him with a trick,  
 But Mart was too, too politick.

"and thrusting it into the skin in many parts of their bodies; if  
 "they were insensible of it, it was a circumstance of proof against  
 "them. October 1652, sixty were accused: much malice, little  
 "proof: though they were tortured many ways to make them  
 "confess."

\* *Who after prov'd himself a witch,*

*And made a rod for his own breech.*] Dr. Hutchinson, in his  
 Historical Essay on Witchcraft, page 66, tells us, "that the coun-  
 "try, tired of the cruelties committed by Hopkins, tried him by his  
 "own system. They tied his thumbs and toes, as he used to do  
 "others, and threw him into the water; when he swam like the  
 "rest."

<sup>1</sup> *Did not the dev'l appear to Martin*

*Luther in Germany for certain ?*] Luther, in his book de Missâ  
 privatâ, says he was persuaded to preach against the mass by reasons  
 suggested to him by the devil, in a disputation. Melchior Adamus  
 says the devil appeared to Luther in his own garden, in the shape of  
 a black boar. And the Colloquia mensalia relate, that when Luther  
 was in his chamber, in the castle at Wurzburg, the devil cracked  
 some nuts which he had in a box upon the bed-post, tumbled empty  
 barrels down stairs, &c.



MACBETH, KING OF SCOTLAND.

*From a Picture by Holbein.*

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Did he not help the Dutch to purge,  
 At Antwerp, their cathedral church ?<sup>2</sup> 160  
 Sing catches to the saints at Mascon,<sup>3</sup>  
 And tell them all they came to ask him ?  
 Appear in divers shapes to Kelly,<sup>4</sup>  
 And speak i' th' nun of Loudon's belly ?<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Did he not help the Dutch to purge,*

*At Antwerp, their cathedral church ?*] In the beginning of the civil war in Flanders, the common people at Antwerp broke open the cathedral church, and destroyed the ornaments. Strada, in his book *de Bello Belgico*, says, that "several devils were seen to assist them; without whose aid it would have been impossible, in so short a time, to have done so much mischief."

<sup>3</sup> *Sing catches to the saints at Mascon,*] Mascon is a town in Burgundy, where an unclean devil, as he was called, played his pranks in the house of Mr. Perreand, a reformed minister, ann. 1612. Sometimes he sang psalms; at others bawdy verses. Mr. Perreand published a circumstantial account of him in French, which, at the request of Mr. Boyle, who had heard the matter attested by Perreand himself, was translated into English by Dr. Peter de Moulin. The poet calls them saints, because they were of the Geneva persuasion.

<sup>4</sup> *Appear in divers shapes to Kelly,*] See notes to lines 235-7-8. It may be proper to observe, that the persons here instanced had made more than ordinary pretensions to sanctity, or bore some near relation to religion. On this circumstance Ralpho founds his argument for the lawfulness of the practice, that saints may converse with the devil. Dr. Casaubon informs us that Dee, who was associated with Kelly, employed himself in prayer, and other acts of devotion, before he entered upon his conversation with spirits. "*Oratione dominicâ finitâ, et morâ aliquâ interpositâ, et aliquot ex psalterio precibus recitatis.*"

<sup>5</sup> *And speak i' th' nun of Loudon's belly ?*] Sir Kenelm Digby, in his Treatise on the Sympathetic Powder, says, "I could make a notable recital of such passions that happened to the nuns at Loudon; but having done it in a particular discourse, at my return from that country, in which I, as exactly as I could, discussed the point, I will forbear speaking thereof at this time." Grandier, the curate of Loudon, was ordered to be burned alive, A. D. 1634, by a set of judges commissioned and influenced by Richelieu; and

Meet with the parl'ament's committee,      165  
 At Woodstock, on a pers'nal treaty?<sup>6</sup>  
 At Sarum take a cavalier,<sup>7</sup>  
 I' th' cause's service, prisoner?

the prioress, with half the nuns in the convent, were obliged to own themselves bewitched. The prioress declared, that when the devil who had possessed her had quitted her body, an angel impressed upon her hand the words *Jesus Maria Joseph F de Salis*. Mr. Monnois made her a long visit, and she shewed him the letters. He scratched off a part of them, and supposed them to have been made with blood and starch. Grandier was a handsome man, and very eloquent. Such magic had fascinated the prioress, and subjected the nuns to their violent ardours. See Bayle's Dictionary, Art. Grandier; and Dr. Hutchinson's Historical Essay on Witchcraft, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> *Meet with the parl'ament's committee,*

*At Woodstock, on a pers'nal treaty?*] Dr. Plot, in his History of Oxfordshire, ch. viii. tells us how the devil, or some evil spirit, disturbed the commissioners at Woodstock, whither they went to value the crown lands, October 1649.\* A personal treaty was very much desired by the king, and often pressed and petitioned for by great part of the nation. The poet insinuates, that though the parliament refused to hold a personal treaty with the king, yet they scrupled not to hold one with the devil at Woodstock. [Readers, of all ages and classes of the present day, are familiar with the devil's pranks at Woodstock, through the agency of that great and fascinating magician Walter Scott, who, following the mighty Shakspeare, makes poetry and romance the two entertaining substitutes for the more "honest" chronicles of history. He has also introduced us to the Lescus of line 238 in his romance of Kenilworth.]

<sup>7</sup> *At Sarum take a cavalier,*] Withers has a long story, in doggerel verse, of a soldier of the king's army, who being a prisoner at Salisbury, and drinking a health to the devil upon his knees, was carried away by him through a single pane of glass.

---

\* See the Just Devil of Woodstock, or a true Narrative of the several Apparitions, the Frights and Punishments inflicted upon the rumpish Commissioners, by Thomas Widows, master of the free school at Northleach, Gloucestershire. It was not printed till 1660, though the date put to it is 1649. See Bishop of Peterborough's Register and Chronicle.

As Withers, in immortal rhyme,  
 Has register'd to after-time. 170  
 Do not our great reformers use  
 This Sidrophel to forebode news ;<sup>a</sup>  
 To write of victories next year,  
 And castles taken, yet i' th' air ?  
 Of battles fought at sea, and ships 175  
 Sunk, two years hence, the last eclipse ?<sup>b</sup>  
 A total o'erthrow giv'n the king  
 In Cornwall, horse and foot, next spring ?<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Do not our great reformers use*

*This Sidrophel to forebode news ;*] Lilly, Booker, Culpepper, and others, were employed to foretel victories on the side of the parliament. Lilly was a time-serving rascal, who hesitated at no means of getting money. See his life, written by himself.

<sup>b</sup> *Of battles fought at sea, and ships*

*Sunk, two years hence, the last eclipse ?*] Suppose we read *since* the last eclipse, or suppose we point it thus :

Sunk two years since the last eclipse :

Lilly grounded lying predictions on that event. Dr. Grey says, his reputation was lost upon the false prognostic on the eclipse that was to happen on the 29th of March 1652, commonly called Black Monday, in which his predictions not being fully answered, Mr. Heath observes, (Chronicle, p. 210.) " That he was regarded no more for the future, than one of his own worthless almanacs."

<sup>c</sup> *A total o'erthrow giv'n the king*

*In Cornwall, horse and foot, next spring ?*] It is certain that the parliament, in their reports of victories, neither observed time or place. Cleveland, in his character of a London diurnal, p. 113. says of lord Stamford: " This cubit and half of a commander, by the help of a diurnal, routed the enemies fifty miles off." The subject here is not false reports, but false predictions: the direct contrary happened to what is here said; the king overthrew the parliamentarians in Cornwall.

And has not he point-blank foretold  
 Whats'e'er the close committee would? 180  
 Made Mars and Saturn for the cause,<sup>3</sup>  
 The Moon for fundamental laws,  
 The Ram, the Bull, the Goat, declare  
 Against the book of common prayer?  
 The Scorpion take the protestation, 185  
 And Bear engage for reformation?  
 Made all the royal stars recant,  
 Compound, and take the covenant?<sup>3</sup>  
 Quoth Hudibras, The case is clear  
 The saints may 'mploy a conjurer, 190  
 As thou hast prov'd it by their practice;  
 No argument like matter of fact is:  
 And we are best of all led to  
 Men's principles, by what they do.  
 Then let us strait advance in quest 195  
 Of this profound gymnosophist,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Made Mars and Saturn for the cause,*] Made the planets and constellations side with the parliament; or, as bishop Warburton observes, the planets and signs here recapitulated may signify the several leaders of the parliamentary army—Essex, Fairfax, and others.

<sup>3</sup> *Made all the royal stars recant,*

*Compound, and take the covenant?*] The author here evidently alludes to Charles, elector palatine of the Rhine, and to king Charles the second, who both took the covenant.

<sup>4</sup> *Then let us strait advance in quest*

*Of this profound gymnosophist,*] The gymnosophists were a sect of philosophers in India, so called from their going naked. They were much respected for their profound knowledge; and held in the same estimation among their countrymen, as the Chaldæi among the Assyrians, the magi among the Persians, and the druids among the Gauls and Britons.

And as the fates and he advise,  
Pursue, or wave this enterprise.  
This said, he turn'd about his steed,  
And eftsoons on th' adventure rid ; 200  
Where leave we him and Ralph awhile,  
And to the Conj'rer turn our stile,  
To let our reader understand  
What's useful of him beforehand.  
He had been long t'wards mathematics, 205  
Optics, philosophy, and statics,  
Magic, horoscopy, astrology,  
And was old dog at physiology ;  
But as a dog, that turns the spit,<sup>s</sup>  
Bestirs himself, and plies his feet 210  
To climb the wheel, but all in vain,  
His own weight brings him down again ;  
And still he's in the self-same place  
Where at his setting out he was :  
So in the circle of the arts 215  
Did he advance his nat'ral parts,

<sup>s</sup> *But as a dog, that turns the spit,*] Mr. Prior's simile seems to have been suggested by this passage :

Dear Thomas, didst thou never see,  
(Tis but by way of simile)  
A squirrel spend his little rage  
In jumping round a rolling cage ?  
But here or there, turn wood or wire,  
He never gets two inches higher.  
So fares it with those merry blades  
That frisk it under Pindus' shades.

Till falling back still, for retreat,  
 He fell to juggle, cant, and cheat :<sup>6</sup>  
 For as those fowls that live in water  
 Are never wet, he did but smatter ; 220  
 Whate'er he labour'd to appear,  
 His understanding still was clear ;<sup>7</sup>  
 Yet none a deeper knowledge boasted,  
 Since old Hodge Bacon, and Bob Grosted.<sup>8</sup>  
 Th' intelligible world he knew,<sup>9</sup> 225  
 And all men dream on't to be true,  
 That in this world there's not a wart  
 That has not there a counterpart ;  
 Nor can there, on the face of ground,  
 An individual beard be found 230  
 That has not, in that foreign nation,  
 A fellow of the self-same fashion ;

<sup>6</sup> *He fell to juggle, cant, and cheat :*] The account here given of William Lilly agrees exactly with his life written by himself.

<sup>7</sup> *His understanding still was clear ;*] Clear, that is, empty.

<sup>8</sup> *Yet none a deeper knowledge boasted,*

*Since old Hodge Bacon, and Bob Grosted.*] Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar, flourished in the thirteenth century. His penetration in most branches of philosophy was the wonder of the age. Bayle says he wrote an hundred books, many of them upon astronomy, geometry, and medicine. Robert Grosted, or Grossa Testa, lived nearly at the same time with Bacon. He wrote some treatises on astronomy and mathematics ; but his works were chiefly theological. Several books were translated by him from the Greek language ; which if any understood in that age, he was sure, as Erasmus says, to be taken for a conjuror.

<sup>9</sup> *Th' intelligible world he knew,*] The intelligible world is spoken of, by some persons, as the model or prototype of the visible world. See P. i. c. i. v. 535. and note.



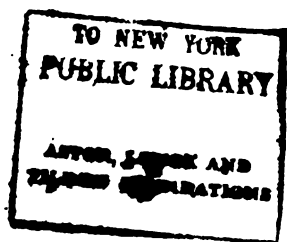
R. Cooper sculp.

ROGER BACON.

*From a statue first by Giovanni Stanetti.*

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So cut, so colour'd, and so curl'd,  
 As those are in th' inferior world.  
 He 'ad read Dee's prefaces before 235  
 The devil and Euclid o'er and o'er ;<sup>1</sup>  
 And all th' intrigues 'twixt him and Kelly,  
 Lescus and th' emperor, wou'd tell ye :<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *He 'ad read Dee's prefaces before*

*The Devil and Euclid o'er and o'er ;*] Dr. John Dee, a Welchman, was admitted to the degree of M. A. and had a testimonial from the university of Cambridge in 1548. He was presented by Edward VI. to the living of Upton upon Severn, in Worcestershire, in the year 1552, when John Harley was made bishop of Hereford. He gained great fame at the time of Elizabeth and James I. by his knowledge in mathematics; Tycho Brahe gives him the title of præstantissimus mathematicus; and Camden calls him nobilis mathematicus. He wrote a preface to Euclid, and to Billingsley's Geometry, *Epistola præfixa Ephemeridi Johannis Felde*, 1557; *Epistola ad Commandinum præfixa libello de superficiorum divisionibus*, 1570; and perhaps in the whole not less than fifty treatises. He began early to have the reputation of a conjuror; of which he grievously complains in his preface to Euclid. This report, and his pretended transactions with spirits, gave the poet occasion to call it Dee's preface before the devil.

<sup>2</sup> *And all th' intrigues 'twixt him and Kelly,*

*Lescus and th' emperor, wou'd tell ye :*] Kelly was born at Worcester, and bred to the business of an apothecary there, about the year 1555. Sometimes he is called Talbot. He was a famous alchemist, and Dee's assistant, his seer or skryer, as he calls him. Uriel, one of their chief spirits, was the promoter of this connection. Soon after a learned Polonian, Albert Alaski, prince of Sirad, whom Mr. Butler calls Lescus, came into England, formed an acquaintance with Dee and Kelly; and, when he left this country, took them and their families with him into Poland. Next to Kelly, he was the greatest confidant of Dee in his secret transactions. Camden speaks of this Lescus in his Annals, 1583. "E Polonia Russiæ vicina, hac ætate venit in Angliam Albertus Alasco Palatinus Siradiensis, vir eruditus, barba promississima," &c. From Poland, Dee and

But with the moon was more familiar  
 Than e'er was almanac well-willer ;<sup>3</sup> 240  
 Her secrets understood so clear,  
 That some believ'd he had been there ;  
 Knew when she was in fittest mood  
 For cutting corns, or letting blood ;<sup>4</sup>  
 When for anointing scabs and itches, 245  
 Or to the bum applying leeches ;  
 When sows and bitches may be spay'd,  
 And in what sign best cider's made ;

Kelly, after some time, removed to Prague. They were entertained by the emperor Rodolph II. disclosed to him some of their chymical secrets, and shewed him the wonderful stone. The emperor, in return, treated them with great respect. Kelly was knighted by him, but afterwards imprisoned ; and he died in 1587. Dee had received some advantageous offers, it is said, from the king of France, the emperor of Muscovy, and several foreign princes. Perhaps he had given them some specimens of his service in the capacity of a spy. However, he returned to England, and died very poor, at Mortlake in Surrey, in the year 1608, aged 81. — *wou'd tell ye* :—In the author's edition it is printed “ would *not* tell ye.” To raise the greater opinion of his knowledge, he would pretend to make a secret of things which he did not understand.

<sup>3</sup> *But with the moon was more familiar*

*Than e'er was almanac well-willer ;*] The almanac makers stiled themselves well-willers to the mathematics, or philomaths.

<sup>4</sup> *Knew when she was in fittest mood*

*For cutting corns, or letting blood :*] Respecting these, and other matters mentioned in the following lines, Lilly, and the old almanac makers, gave particular directions. It appears from various calendars still preserved, not to mention the works of Hesiod, and the apotelesms of Manetho, Maximus, and Julius Firmicus, that astrologers among the Greeks and Romans conceived some planetary hours to be especially favourable to the operations of husbandry and physic.

Whether the wane be, or increase,  
 Best to set garlic, or sow pease; 250  
 Who first found out the man i' th' moon,  
 That to the ancients was unknown;  
 How many dukes, and earls, and peers,  
 Are in the planetary spheres,  
 Their airy empire, and command, 255  
 Their sev'ral strengths by sea and land;  
 What factions they've, and what they drive at  
 In public vogue, or what in private;  
 With what designs and interests  
 Each party manages contests. 260  
 He made an instrument to know  
 If the moon shine at full or no;  
 That would, as soon as e'er she shone, straight  
 Whether 'twere day or night demonstrate;  
 Tell what her d'ameter to an inch is, 265  
 And prove that she's not made of green cheese.  
 It wou'd demonstrate, that the man in  
 The moon's a sea mediterranean;<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *It wou'd demonstrate, that the man in*

*The moon's a sea mediterranean;*] The light of the sun being unequally reflected, and some parts of the moon appearing more fully illuminated than others, on the supposition of the moon's being a terraqueous globe, it is thought that the brighter parts are land, and the darker water. This instrument, therefore, would give a more distinct view of those dusky figures, which had vulgarly been called the man in the moon, and discover them to be branches of the sea. In the Selenography of Florentius Langrenus, Johannes Hevelius, and others, the dark parts are distinguished by the names of mare crisium, mare serenitatis, oceanus procellarum, &c.

And that it is no dog nor bitch  
 That stands behind him at his breech,           270  
 But a huge Caspian sea or lake,  
 With arms, which men for legs mistake ;  
 How large a gulph his tail composes,  
 And what a goodly bay his nose is ;  
 How many German leagues by th' scale       275  
 Cape snout's from promontory tail.  
 He made a planetary gin,  
 Which rats would run their own heads in,  
 And come on purpose to be taken,  
 Without th' expence of cheese or bacon ;       280  
 With lute-strings he would counterfeit  
 Maggots, that crawl on dish of meat ;<sup>a</sup>  
 Quote moles and spots on any place  
 O' th' body, by the index face ;<sup>b</sup>  
 Detect lost maidenheads by sneezing,<sup>c</sup>       285  
 Or breaking wind of dames, or pissing ;

<sup>a</sup> *With lute-strings he would counterfeit*

*Maggots, that crawl on dish of meat ;*] The small strings of a fiddle or lute, cut into short pieces, and strewed upon warm meat, will contract, and appear like live maggots.

<sup>b</sup> *Quote moles and spots on any place*

*O' th' body, by the index face ;*] "Some physiognomers have conceived the head of man to be the model of the whole body ; so that "any mark there will have a corresponding one on some part of the "body." See Lilly's life.

<sup>c</sup> *Detect lost maidenheads by sneezing,*] Democritus is said to have pronounced more nicely on the maid servant of Hippocrates. "Puellæque vitium solo aspectuprehendit." Yet the eyes of Democritus were scarcely more acute and subtle than the ears of Albertus Magnus : "nec minus vocis mutationem ob eandem fere

Cure warts and corns, with application  
 Of med'cines to th' imagination ;  
 Fright agues into dogs, and scare,  
 With rhymes, the tooth-ach and catarrh ;<sup>1</sup> 290  
 Chase evil spirits away by dint  
 Of sickle, horseshoe, hollow flint ;<sup>1</sup>  
 Spit fire out of a walnut-shell,  
 Which made the Roman slaves rebel ;<sup>2</sup>

“ *causam : quo tantum signo ferunt Albertum Magnum, ex museo suo, puellam, ex vinopolio vinum pro hero deportantem, in itinere vitiatam fuisse deprehendisse ; quòd, in reditu subinde, cantantis ex acutâ in graviores mutatas voces agnovisset.*” Gasper a Reies, in *elysio jucund. quæstion. campo*. Lilly professed this art, and said no woman, that he found a maid, ever twitted him with his being mistaken.

— and scare,

*With rhymes, the tooth-ach and catarrh ;* ] Butler seems to have raked together many of the baits for human credulity which his reading could furnish, or he had ever heard mentioned. These charms for tooth-achs and coughs were well known to the common people a few years since. The word *abracadabra*, for fevers, is as old as Sammonicus. *Haut haut hista pista vista*, were recommended for a sprain by Cato. [Cato prodidit luxatis membris carmen auxiliare. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxviii.] Homer relates, that the sons of Autolycus stopped the bleeding of Ulysses's wound by a charm. See *Odyss. xix. 457.* and Barnes' Notes and Scholia :

— *ἰπαιδῶν δ' ἄλμα κελαινόν*

*Ἔρχετον.*

<sup>1</sup> *Chase evil spirits away by dint*

*Of sickle, horseshoe, hollow flint ;* ] These concave implements, particularly the horseshoe, we have often seen nailed to the threshold of doors in the country, in order to chase away evil spirits.

<sup>2</sup> *Spit fire out of a walnut-shell,*

*Which made the Roman slaves rebel ;* ] Lucius Florus, Livy, and other historians, give the following account of the origin of the servile war. There was a great number of slaves in Sicily, and one of them, a Syrian, called Eunus, encouraged his companions, at the

And fire a mine in China here, 295  
 With sympathetic gunpowder.  
 He knew what's ever's to be known,  
 But much more than he knew would own.  
 What med'cine 'twas that Paracelsus  
 Could make a man with, as he tells us ;<sup>a</sup> 300  
 What figur'd slates are best to make,  
 On wat'ry surface duck or drake ;<sup>b</sup>  
 What bowling-stones, in running race  
 Upon a board, have swiftest pace ;  
 Whether a pulse beat in the black 305  
 List of a dappled louse's back ;<sup>c</sup>

order of the gods, as he said, to free themselves by arms. He filled a nutshell with fire and sulphur, and holding it in his mouth, breathed out flames, when he spoke to them, in proof of his divine commission. By this deception he mustered more than 40,000 persons.

<sup>a</sup> *What med'cine 'twas that Paracelsus*

*Could make a man with, as he tells us ;*] That philosopher, and others, thought that man might be generated without connection of the sexes. See this idea ridiculed by Rabelais, lib. ii. ch. 27. " Et celeberrimus Athanasius Kircherus, libro secundo mundi subterranei præclare et solidis rationibus, refutavit stultitiam nugatoris Paracelsi, qui (de generat. rerum naturalium, lib. i.) copiose admodum docere voluit ridiculam methodum generandi homunciones in vasis chemicorum." p. 38. Franc. Redi de generat. insectorum. The poet probably had in view Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, who, at page 490, gives a full account of this matter, both from Paracelsus and others.

<sup>b</sup> *What figured slates are best to make,*

*On wat'ry surface duck or drake :*] The poet, by mentioning this play of children, means to intimate that Sidrophel was a smatterer in natural philosophy, knew something of the laws of motion and gravity, though all he arrived at was but childish play, no better than making ducks and drakes.

<sup>c</sup> *Whether a pulse beat in the black*

*List of a dappled louse's back ;*] See Sparrmann's Voyage to the

If systole or diastole move

Quickest when he's in wrath, or love ;<sup>6</sup>

When two of them do run a race,

Whether they gallop, trot, or pace ;

310

How many scores a flea will jump,

Of his own length, from head to rump,<sup>7</sup>

Cape of Good Hope, vol. ii. p. 291. It was the fashion with the wits of our author's time to ridicule the transactions of the Royal Society. Mr. Butler here indulges his vein by bantering their microscopic discoveries. At present every one must be inclined to adopt the sentiment of Cowley :

Mischief and true dishonour fall on those  
Who would to laughter or to scorn expose  
So virtuous and so noble a design,  
So human for its use, for knowledge so divine.  
The things which these proud men despise, and call  
Impertinent, and vain, and small,  
Those smallest things of nature let me know,  
Rather than all their greatest actions do !

The learned and ingenious bishop Hurd delivers his opinion on this passage in two lines from Pope :

But sense surviv'd when merry jests were past,  
For rising merit will buoy up at last.

<sup>6</sup> *If systole or diastole move*

*Quickest when he's in wrath, or love ;*] Systole the contraction, and diastole the dilatation, of the heart, are motions of that organ by means of which the circulation of the blood is effected. The passions of the mind have a sensible influence on the animal economy. Some of them, fear and sorrow, chill the blood and retard its progress. Other passions, and especially anger and love, accelerate its motion, and cause the pulse to beat with additional strength and quickness.

<sup>7</sup> *How many scores a flea will jump,*

*Of his own length, from head to rump,]* Aristophanes, in his comedy of the Clouds, Act i. sc. 2. introduces a scholar of Socrates describing the method in which Socrates, and his friend



Which Socrates and Chærephon  
 In vain assay'd so long ago ;  
 Whether his snout a perfect nose is, 315  
 And not an elephant's proboscis ;<sup>a</sup>  
 How many diff'rent specieses  
 Of maggots breed in rotten cheeses ;  
 And which are next of kin to those  
 Engender'd in a chandler's nose ; 320  
 Or those not seen, but understood,  
 That live in vinegar and wood.<sup>b</sup>  
 A paltry wretch he had, half starv'd,  
 That him in place of Zany serv'd,<sup>c</sup>

Chærephon, endeavoured to ascertain how many lengths of his own feet a flea will jump.—*ψύλλαν ὁπόσους ἄλλοισι τοῦς αὐτῆς πόδας*, quot pedes suos pulex saltaret. They did not measure, as our author says, by the length of the body ; they dipped the feet of the flea in melted wax, which presently hardened into shoes ; these they took off, and measured the leap of the flea with them. It is probable that this representation had been received with pleasure by the enemies of Socrates. In the banquet of Xenophon the subject is taken up by one of the company : *ἀλλ' εἰπέ μοι, πόσους ψύλλα πόδας ἐμοῦ ἀπίζει. ταῦτα γὰρ σε φασὶ γεωμετερεῖν*—and is dismissed by Socrates with a kind of cool contempt. Plato somewhere alludes to the same jest. A flea had jumped from the forehead of Chærephon to the head of Socrates, which introduced the enquiry.

<sup>a</sup> *Whether his snout a perfect nose is,*

*And not an elephant's proboscis ;*] Microscopic inquirers tell us that a flea has a proboscis, somewhat like that of an elephant, but not quite so large.

<sup>b</sup> *Or those not seen, but understood,*

*That live in vinegar and wood.*] The pungency of vinegar is said, by some, to arise from the bites of animalcules which are contained in it. For these discoveries see Hook's micrographical observations.

<sup>c</sup> *That him in place of Zany serv'd,*] A Zany is a buffoon, or Merry Andrew, designed to assist the quack, as the ballad-singer

Hight Whachum, bred to dash and draw, 325  
 Not wine, but more unwholesome law ;  
 To make 'twixt words and lines huge gaps,<sup>2</sup>  
 Wide as meridians in maps ;  
 To squander paper, and spare ink,  
 Or cheat men of their words, some think. 330  
 From this, by merited degrees,  
 He'd to more high advancement rise,  
 To be an under-conjurer,  
 Or journeyman astrologer :  
 His bus'ness was to pump and wheedle, 335  
 And men with their own keys unriddle ;<sup>3</sup>

does the cut-purse or pickpocket. Some have supposed this character of Whachum to have been intended for one Tom Jones, a foolish Welchman. Others think it was meant for Richard Green, who published a pamphlet entitled "Hudibras in a snare." The word zany is derived by some from the Greek *σαυρας*, a fool, *τζαυρος* ; (see Eustath. ad. Odyss. xxii. and Meursii Glossar. Græco-barb.) by others from the Venetian Zani, abbreviated from giovanni.

<sup>2</sup> *Hight Whachum, bred to dash and draw,*

*Not wine, but more unwholesome law ;*

*To make 'twixt words and lines huge gaps,]* As the way of lawyers is in their bills and answers in chancery, where they are paid so much a sheet.

<sup>3</sup> *His bus'ness was to pump and wheedle,*

*And men with their own keys unriddle ;]* Menckenius, in his book de Charlataneria Eruditorum, ed. Amst. 1747. p. 192. tells this story: Jactabat empiricus quidam, se ex solo urinæ aspectu non solum de morbis omnibus, sed et de illorum causis, quæcunque demum illæ fuerint, sive natura, sive sors tulisset, certissime cognoscere ; interim ille ita instruxerat servulos suos, ut callide homines ad se accedentes explorarent, et de his, quæ comperta haberent, clam ad se referrent.—Accedit mulier paupercula cum lotio mariti, quo vix viso, maritus tuus, inquit, per scalas domus infausto casu decidit.

To make them to themselves give answers,  
 For which they pay the necromancers ;  
 To fetch and carry intelligence  
 Of whom, and what, and where, and whence,  
 And all discoveries disperse  
 Among th' whole pack of conjurers ;  
 What cut-purses have left with them,  
 For the right owners to redeem,  
 And what they dare not vent, find out,       345  
 To gain themselves and th' art repute ;  
 Draw figures, schemes, and horoscopes,  
 Of Newgate, Bridewell, brokers' shops,  
 Of thieves ascendant in the cart,<sup>4</sup>  
 And find out all by rules of art :       350  
 Which way a serving-man, that's run  
 With clothes or money away, is gone ;  
 Who pick'd a fob at holding-forth,  
 And where a watch, for half the worth,  
 May be redeem'd ; or stolen plate       355  
 Restor'd at consciable rate.  
 Beside all this, he serv'd his master  
 In quality of poetaster,

Tum illa admirabunda, istudne, ait, ex urina intelligis? Imo vero, inquit empiricus, et nisi me omnia fallunt, per quindecim scalas gradus delapsus est. At cum illa, utique viginti se numerasse referret, hic velut indignatus quærit: num omnem secum urinam attulisset: atque illa negante, quod vasculum materiam omnem non caperet: itaque, ait, effudisti cum urina quinque gradus illos, qui mihi ad numerum deerant.—I wonder this story escaped Dr. Grey.

<sup>4</sup> *Of thieves ascendant in the cart,]* Ascendant, a term in astrology, is here equivocal.

And rhymes appropriate could make  
 To ev'ry month i' th' almanack ; 360  
 When terms begin, and end, could tell,  
 With their returns, in doggerel ;  
 When the exchequer opes and shuts,  
 And sowgelder with safety cuts ;  
 When men may eat and drink their fill, 365  
 And when be temp'rate, if they will ;  
 When use, and when abstain from vice,  
 Figs, grapes, phlebotomy, and spice.  
 And as in prisons mean rogues beat  
 Hemp for the service of the great, 370  
 So Whachum beat his dirty brains  
 T' advance his master's fame and gains,  
 And like the devil's oracles,  
 Put into dogg'rel rhymes his spells, 375  
 Which, over ev'ry month's blank page  
 I' th' almanack, strange bilks presage.<sup>7</sup>  
 He would an elegy compose  
 On maggots squeez'd out of his nose ;

<sup>6</sup> *And as in prisons mean rogues beat*

*Hemp for the service of the great,]* Petty rogues, in Bridewell, pound hemp ; and it may happen that the produce of their labour is employed in halters, in which greater criminals are hanged.

<sup>6</sup> *And like the devil's oracles,*

*Put into dogg'rel rhymes his spells,]* Plutarch has a whole treatise to discuss the question, why Apollo had ceased to deliver his oracles in verse : which brings on an incidental inquiry why his language was often bad, and his verses defective.

<sup>7</sup> *I' th' almanack, strange bilks presage.]* Bilk is a Gothic word, signifying a cheat or fraud : it signifies likewise to baulk or disappoint.

In lyric numbers write an ode on  
 His mistress, eating a black-pudding ; 380  
 And, when imprison'd air escap'd her,  
 It puffed him with poetic rapture :  
 His sonnets charm'd th' attentive crowd,  
 By wide-mouth'd mortal troll'd aloud,  
 That, circled with his long-ear'd guests, 385  
 Like Orpheus, look'd among the beasts :  
 A carman's horse could not pass by,  
 But stood ty'd up to poetry ;  
 No porter's burden pass'd along,  
 But serv'd for burden to his song : 390  
 Each window like a pill'ry appears,  
 With heads thrust thro' nail'd by the ears ;  
 All trades run in as to the sight  
 Of monsters, or their dear delight,  
 The gallow-tree,\* when cutting purse 395  
 Breeds bus'ness for heroic verse,  
 Which none does hear, but would have hung  
 T<sup>o</sup> have been the theme of such a song.<sup>†</sup>

\* — or their dear delight,

*The gallow-tree,—*] Thus Cleveland, in his poem entitled the Rebel Scot :

A Scot when from the gallow tree got loose,  
Drops into Styx, and turns a Soland goose.

† *Which none does hear, but would have hung*

*T<sup>o</sup> have been the theme of such a song.*] The author perhaps recollected some lines in sir John Denham's poem on the trial and death of the earl of Strafford :

Such was his force of eloquence, to make  
The hearers more concern'd than he that spake ;

Those two together long had liv'd,  
 In mansion, prudently contriv'd, 400  
 Where neither tree nor house could bar  
 The free detection of a star;  
 And nigh an ancient obelisk  
 Was rais'd by him, found out by Fisk,  
 On which was written not in words, 405  
 But hieroglyphic mute of birds,<sup>1</sup>  
 Many rare pithy saws, concerning<sup>2</sup>  
 The worth of astrologic learning:

Each seem'd to act that part he came to see,  
 And none was more a looker on than he;  
 So did he move our passions, some were known  
 To wish, for the defence, the crime their own.

When Mars and Venus were surprised in Vulcan's net, and the  
 deities were assembled to see them, Ovid says:

— aliquis de dis non tristibus optet

Sic fieri turpis— Metamorph. lib. iv. 187.

<sup>1</sup> *Was rais'd by him, found out by Fisk,*

*On which was written not in words,*

*But hieroglyphic mute of birds,]* Fisk was a quack physician  
 and astrologer of that time, and an acquaintance of William Lilly,  
 the almanac-maker and prognosticator. "In the year 1663," says  
 Lilly in his own life, "I became acquainted with Nicholas Fisk,  
 "licentiate in physic, born in Suffolk, fit for, but not sent to, the  
 "university. Studying at home astrology and physic, which he  
 "afterwards practised at Colchester." He had a pension from the  
 parliament; and during the civil war, and the whole of the usurpa-  
 tion, prognosticated on that side. [*Mute.* The dung of birds. Todd  
 in his edition of Johnson, with this passage quoted.]

<sup>2</sup> *Many rare pithy saws, concerning]* Pithy, that is, nervous,  
 witty, full of sense and meaning, like a proverb. Saw, that is, say,  
 or saying, from A. S. Douglas applies it to any saying, (p. 143,  
 v. 52.) and once in a bad sense to indecent language:

Nu rist with sleath, and many unseemly saw  
 Quhare schame is loist. P. 90, v. 15.

From top of this there hung a rope,  
 To which he fasten'd telescope ;<sup>3</sup> 410  
 The spectacles with which the stars  
 He reads in smallest characters.  
 It happened as a boy, one night,  
 Did fly his tarsel of a kite,<sup>4</sup>  
 The strangest long-wing'd hawk that flies, 415  
 That, like a bird of Paradise,  
 Or herald's martlet, has no legs,<sup>5</sup>  
 Nor hatches young ones, nor lays eggs ;

<sup>3</sup> *From top of this there hung a rope,*

*To which he fasten'd telescope ;* ] Refracting telescopes were formerly so constructed as to require such an awkward apparatus. Hugenius invented a telescope without a tube. The object-glass was fixed to a long pole, and its axis directed towards any object by a string, which passed down from the glass above to the eye-glass below. He presented to the Royal Society an object-glass of one hundred and twenty-three feet focal distance, with an apparatus belonging to it, which he had made himself. It is described in his *Astrocopia compendiaria tubi optici molimine liberata*, Hague, 1684.

<sup>4</sup> *Did fly his tarsel of a kite,* ] Tiersel, or tiercelet, as the French call the male hawk, which is less in the body by a third part than the female, from whence it hath the name. Lord Bacon says it is stronger, and more courageous than the female.

<sup>5</sup> *That, like a bird of Paradise.*

*Or herald's martlet, has no legs,* ] The bird of Paradise, or the *Pica Paradisæa* of Linnæus. The *manucodiata* of Edwards and Ray. The Portuguese first saw them in Gilolo, Papua, and New Guinea : many idle fables have been propagated concerning these birds, among which are to be reckoned, that they have no feet, pass their lives in the air, and feed on that element ; but it is found that the feet are cut off, that the birds may dry the better, and the scapular feathers prevent their sitting on trees in windy weather. Naturalists describe many species, but the *Paradisæa apoda*, or greater bird of Paradise is generally about two feet in length. See Latham, Syn. ii. 47.

His train was six yards long, milk white,  
 At th' end of which there hung a light, 420  
 Enclos'd in lanthorn made of paper,  
 That far off like a star did appear :  
 This Sidrophel by chance espy'd,  
 And with amazement staring wide :  
 Bless us, quoth he, what dreadful wonder 425  
 Is that appears in heaven yonder ?  
 A comet, and without a beard !  
 Or star, that ne'er before appear'd !  
 I'm certain 'tis not in the scrowl  
 Of all those beasts, and fish, and fowl,<sup>a</sup> 430

Index, i. 194. and Essay on India, by John Reinhold Forster, p. 17. Martlets are painted by the heralds without legs, or with very short ones, scarcely visible. In Le Blanc's Travels, p. 115, we are told of the birds of Paradise, that they are kept in a cage in the Sultan's garden, and are thought by Europeans to have no legs. Lord Bacon has the following passage in his Works, fol. vol. iv. p. 325. "The second reason that made me silent was, because this suspicion and rumour of undertaking settles upon no person certain: it is like the birds of Paradise, that they have in the Indies, that have no feet, and therefore never light upon any place, but the wind carries them away. And such a thing I take this rumour to be." Pliny, in his Natural History, has a chapter de Apodibus, lib. x. ch. 39.

<sup>a</sup> *I'm certain 'tis not in the scrowl*

*Of all those beasts, and fish, and fowl,*] Astronomers, for the help of their memory, and to avoid giving names to every star in particular, have divided them into constellations or companies, which they have distinguished by the names of several beasts, birds, fishes, &c. as they fall within the compass which the forms of these creatures reach to. Butler, in his Genuine Remains, vol. i. page 9, says :

Since from the greatest to the least,  
 All other stars and constellations  
 Have cattle of all sorts of nations.

This distribution of the stars is very ancient. Tully mentions it



With which, like Indian plantations,  
 The learned stock the constellations ;<sup>7</sup>  
 Nor those that, drawn for signs, have been  
 To th' houses where the planets inn.<sup>8</sup>  
 It must be supernatural, 435  
 Unless it be that cannon-ball  
 That, shot i' th' air, point-blank upright,  
 Was borne to that prodigious height,  
 That, learn'd philosophers maintain,  
 It ne'er came backwards down again,<sup>9</sup> 440

from Aratus, in nearly the same terms which are used in our astronomical tables. The divisions are called houses by the astrologers.

<sup>7</sup> *With which, like Indian plantations,*

*The learned stock the constellations ;*] Cosmographers, in their descriptions of the world, when they found many vast places, whereof they knew nothing, are used to fill the same with an account of Indian plantations, strange birds, beasts, &c. So historians and poets, says Plutarch, embroider and intermix the tales of ancient times with fictions and fabulous discoveries.

<sup>8</sup> *Not those that, drawn for signs, have been,*

*To th' houses where the planets inn.*] Signs, a pun between signs for public houses, and signs or constellations in the heavens. Aratus and Eratosthenes.—The Catasterismoi of the latter, printed at the end of Fell's Aratus, are nearly as old as Aratus himself. See also Hall's Virgidemiarum, book ii. Sat. vii. v. 29.

<sup>9</sup> *It must be supernatural,*

*Unless it be that cannon-ball*

*That, shot i' th' air, point-blank upright,*

*Was borne to that prodigious height,*

*That, learn'd philosophers maintain,*

*It ne'er came backwards down again,*] Some foreign philosophers directed a cannon against the zenith ; and, having fired it, could not find where the ball fell ; from whence it was conjectured to have stuck in the moon. Des Cartes imagined that the ball remained in the air.

But in the airy regions yet  
 Hangs, like the body o' Mahomet :<sup>1</sup>  
 For if it be above the shade,  
 That by the earth's round bulk is made,  
 'Tis probable it may from far, 445  
 Appear no bullet, but a star.

This said, he to his engine flew,  
 Plac'd near at hand, in open view,  
 And rais'd it, till it levell'd right  
 Against the glow-worm tail of kite ;<sup>2</sup> 450  
 Then peeping thro', Bless us ! quoth he,  
 It is a planet now I see ;  
 And, if I err not, by his proper  
 Figure, that's like tobacco-stopper,<sup>3</sup>  
 It should be Saturn : yes, 'tis clear 455  
 'Tis Saturn ; but what makes him there ?

<sup>1</sup> *But in the airy region yet*

*Hangs, like the body o' Mahomet :*] The improbable story of Mahomet's body being suspended in an iron chest, between two great loadstones, is refuted by Mr. Sandys and Dr. Prideaux.

<sup>2</sup> *Against the glow-worm tail of kite ;*] The luminous part of the glow-worm is the tail.

<sup>3</sup> *And, if I err not, by his proper*

*Figure, that's like tobacco-stopper,*] This alludes to the symbol which astronomers use to denote the planet Saturn ( $\text{♄}$ ), and astrologers use a sign not much unlike it. It is no wonder Sidrophel should be puzzled to know for certain whether it was Saturn or not, as the phases of Saturn are very various and extraordinary, and long perplexed the astronomers, who could not divine the meaning of such irregularity : thus Hevelius observes, that he appears sometimes *monospherical*, sometimes *trispherical*, *spherico-ansated*, *elliptico-ansated* and *spherico-cuspidated* ; but Huygens reduced all these phases to three principal ones, *round*, *brachiated*, and *ansated*. See Chambers's Dictionary, Art. Saturn.

He's got between the Dragon's tail,  
 And farther leg behind o' th' Whale ;<sup>a</sup>  
 Pray heav'n divert the fatal omen,  
 For 'tis a prodigy not common, 460  
 And can no less than the world's end,  
 Or nature's funeral, portend.  
 With that, he fell again to pry  
 Thro' perspective more wistfully,  
 When, by mischance, the fatal string, 465  
 That kept the tow'ring fowl on wing,  
 Breaking, down fell the star. Well shot,  
 Quoth Whachum, who right wisely thought  
 He 'ad levell'd at a star, and hit it ;  
 But Sidrophel, more subtle-witted, 470  
 Cry'd out, What horrible and fearful  
 Portent is this, to see a star fall !  
 It threatens nature, and the doom  
 Will not be long before it come !  
 When stars do fall, 'tis plain enough 475  
 The day of judgment's not far off ;  
 As lately 'twas reveal'd to Sedgwick,<sup>a</sup>  
 And some of us find out by magick :

<sup>a</sup> *He's got between the Dragon's tail,  
 And farther leg behind o' th' Whale ;*] Sidrophel, the star-gazer,  
 names any two constellations he can think of : or rather, the poet  
 designs to make him blunder, by fixing on those which are far dis-  
 tant from each other, on different sides of the equator ; and also by  
 talking of the whale's hinder leg. On some old globes the whale is  
 described with legs.

<sup>a</sup> *As lately 'twas reveal'd to Sedgwick,*] Will. Sedgwick was a  
 whimsical fanatic preacher, settled by the parliament in the city of

Then, since the time we have to live  
 In this world's shorten'd, let us strive 480  
 To make our best advantage of it,  
 And pay our losses with our profit.

This feat fell out not long before  
 The Knight, upon the forenam'd score,  
 In quest of Sidrophel advancing, 485  
 Was now in prospect of the mansion;  
 Whom he discov'ring, turn'd his glass,  
 And found far off 'twas Hudibras.

Whachum, quoth he, Look yonder, some  
 To try or use our art are come : 490  
 The one's the learned Knight; seek out,  
 And pump 'em what they come about.  
 Whachum advanc'd, with all submiss'ness  
 T' accost 'em, but much more their business :  
 He held the stirrup, while the Knight 495  
 From leathern bare-bones did alight;  
 And, taking from his hand the bridle,  
 Approach'd the dark Squire to unriddle.  
 He gave him first the time o' th' day,\*  
 And welcom'd him, as he might say : 500

Ely. He pretended much to revelations, and was called the apostle of the isle of Ely. He gave out that the approach of the day of judgment had been disclosed to him in a vision: and going to the house of sir Francis Russel, in Cambridgeshire, where he found several gentlemen, he warned them all to prepare themselves, for the day of judgment would be some day in the next week.

\* *He gave him first the time o' th' day,*] i. e. he bade him good evening: see line 540.

He ask'd him whence they came, and whither  
 Their business lay? Quoth Ralpho, Hither.  
 Did you not lose?—Quoth Ralpho, Nay.  
 Quoth Whachum, Sir, I meant your way?  
 Your Knight—Quoth Ralpho, Is a lover, 505  
 And pains intol'able doth suffer;  
 For lovers' hearts are not their own hearts,  
 Nor lights, nor lungs, and so forth downwards.  
 What time?—Quoth Ralpho, Sir, too long,  
 Three years it off and on has hung— 510  
 Quoth he, I meant what time o' th' day 'tis.  
 Quoth Ralpho, Between seven and eight 'tis.  
 Why then, quoth Whachum, my small art  
 Tells me the Dame has a hard heart,  
 Or great estate. Quoth Ralph, A jointure, 515  
 Which makes him have so hot a mind t' her.  
 Mean-while the Knight was making water,  
 Before he fell upon the matter:  
 Which having done, the Wizard steps in,  
 To give him a suitable reception; 520  
 But kept his business at a bay,  
 Till Whachum put him in the way;  
 Who having now, by Ralpho's light,  
 Expounded th' errand of the Knight,  
 And what he came to know, drew near, 525  
 To whisper in the Conj'rer's ear,

' *Did not you lose?*—] He supposes they came to inquire after something stolen or strayed, the usual case with people when they apply to the cunning man. In these lines we must observe the artfulness of Whachum, who pumps the squire concerning the knight's business, and afterwards relates it to Sidrophel in the presence of both of them.

Which he prevented thus: What was't,  
 Quoth he, that I was saying last,<sup>a</sup>  
 Before these gentlemen arriv'd?  
 Quoth Whachum, Venus you retriev'd, 530  
 In opposition with Mars,  
 And no benign friendly stars  
 T' allay the effect.<sup>b</sup> Quoth Wizard, So:  
 In Virgo? ha! Quoth Whachum, No:<sup>c</sup>  
 Has Saturn nothing to do in it,<sup>d</sup> 535  
 One tenth of's circle to a minute?  
 'Tis well, quoth he—Sir you'll excuse  
 This rudeness I am forc'd to use;  
 It is a scheme, and face of heaven,  
 As th' aspects are dispos'd this even, 540

<sup>a</sup> *Which he prevented thus: What was't,*

*Quoth he, that I was saying last,]* To prevent the suspicion which might be created by whispering, he causes Whachum to relate his intelligence aloud, in the cant terms of his own profession.

<sup>b</sup> *Quoth Whachum, Venus you retriev'd,*

*In opposition with Mars,*

*And no benign friendly stars*

*T' allay the effect—]* There should be no comma after the word retriev'd; it here signifies found, observed, from the French retrouver. Venus, the goddess of love, opposes and thwarts Mars, the god of war, and there is likely to be no accord between them. By which he gives him to understand, that the knight was in love, and had small hopes of success.

<sup>c</sup> *In Virgo? ha! Quoth Whachum, No:]* Is his mistress a virgin? No.

<sup>d</sup> *Has Saturn nothing to do in't,]* Saturn, Κρόνος, was the god of time. The wizard by these words inquires how long the love affair had been carried on. Whachum replies, one tenth of his circle to a minute, or three years; one tenth of the thirty years in which Saturn finishes his revolution, and exactly the time which the knight's courtship had been pending.

I was contemplating upon  
When you arriv'd ; but now I've done.

Quoth Hudibras, if I appear

Unseasonable in coming here

At such a time, to interrupt 545

Your speculations, which I hop'd

Assistance from, and come to use,

'Tis fit that I ask your excuse.

By no means, Sir, quoth Sidrophel,

The stars your coming did foretel ; 550

I did expect you here, and knew,

Before you spake, your business too.\*

Quoth Hudibras, Make that appear,

And I shall credit whatsoe'er

You tell me after, on your word, 555

Howe'er unlikely, or absurd.

You are in love, Sir, with a widow,

Quoth he, that does not greatly heed you,

And for three years has rid your wit

And passion, without drawing bit ; 560

And now your business is to know

If you shall carry her, or no.

Quoth Hudibras, You're in the right,

But how the devil you come by't

I can't imagine ; for the stars, 565

I'm sure, can tell no more than a horse :

Nor can their aspects, tho' you pore

Your eyes out on 'em, tell you more

\* *I did expect you here, and knew,*

*Before you spake, your business too.] In some editions we read,  
Know before you speak.*

Than th' oracle of sieve and sheers,<sup>4</sup>  
 That turns as certain as the spheres : 570  
 But if the Devil's of your counsel,  
 Much may be done, my noble donzel ;<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Than th' oracle of sieve and sheers,*] “ Put a paire of sheeres in  
 “ the rim of a sieve, and let two persons set the tip of each of their  
 “ forefingers upon the upper part of the sheers, holding it with the  
 “ sieve up from the ground steddilie, and ask Peter and Paul whe-  
 “ ther A. B. or C. hath stolne the thing lost, and at the nomination  
 “ of the guilty person the sieve will turne round.” Scot's *Discovery*  
 of Witchcraft, book xii. ch. xvii. p. 262. The *κοκινώπαντις*, or  
 diviner by a sieve, is mentioned by Theocricus Idyll. iii. 31. The  
 Greek practice differed very little from that which has been stated  
 above. They tied a thread to the sieve, or fixed it to a pair of  
 shears, which they held between two fingers. After addressing  
 themselves to the gods, they repeated the names of the suspected  
 persons; and he, at whose name the sieve turned round, was ad-  
 judged guilty. Potter's *Gr. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 352.

<sup>5</sup> — *my noble donzel* ;] A sneering kind of appellation; donzel  
 being a diminutive from don. Butler says, in his character of a  
 squire of Dames, (vol. ii. p. 379.) “ he is donzel to the damzels, and  
 “ gentleman usher daily waiter on the ladies, that rubs out his time  
 “ in making legs and love to them.” The word is likewise used in  
 Ben Jonson's *Alchymist*. [*“ Donzel del Phebo.* A celebrated hero  
 “ of romance in the Mirror of Knighthood, &c. *Donzel* is from the  
 “ Italian, *donzello*, and means a squire, or young man; or, as Florio  
 “ says, ‘ A damosell, a bachelor,’ &c. He seems always united  
 “ with Rosiclear.

“ Defend thee powerfully, marry thee sumptuously, and keep thee  
 “ in despite of Rosiclear or *Donzel del Phebo*.

“ Malcontent, O. Pl. iv. 92.

“ *Donzel del Phebo* and Rosiclear! are you there?

“ The Bird in a Cage, O. Pl. viii. 248.

“ So the Captain in Philaster calls the citizens in insurrection  
 “ with him, ‘ My dear *Donzels* :’ and presently after, when Philaster  
 “ appears, salutes him by the title of

— “ My royal Rosiclear!

“ We are thy myrmidons, thy guards, thy roarers.

“ Philaster, v. p. 166-7.”—Nares's Glossary.]



And 'tis on this account I come,  
To know from you my fatal doom.

Quoth Sidrophel, If you suppose, 575  
Sir Knight, that I am one of those,  
I might suspect, and take the alarm,

Your business is but to inform :<sup>a</sup>  
But if it be, 'tis ne'er the near,  
You have a wrong sow by the ear ; 580

For I assure you, for my part,  
I only deal by rules of art ;  
Such as are lawful, and judge by  
Conclusions of astrology ;  
But for the devil ; know nothing by him, 585  
But only this, that I defy him.

Quoth he, Whatever others deem ye,  
I understand your metonymy ;<sup>b</sup>  
Your words of second-hand intention,<sup>c</sup>  
When things by wrongful names you mention ;

<sup>a</sup> *I might suspect, and take the alarm,*

*Your business is but to inform :*] At that time there was a severe inquisition against conjurors, witches, &c. See the note on line 143. In Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 666. is a special pardon from king James to Simon Read, for practising the black art. It is entitled, *De Pardonatione pro Simone Read de Invocatione, et Conjuracione Cacodæmonum*. He is there said to have invoked certain wicked spirits in the year 1608, in the parish of St. George, Southwark, particularly one such spirit called Heavelon, another called Faternon, and a third called Cleveton.

<sup>b</sup> *I understand your metonymy ;*] Metonymy is a figure of speech, whereby the cause is put for the effect, the subject for the adjunct.

<sup>c</sup> *Your words of second-hand intention ;*] Terms of second intention, among the schoolmen, denote ideas which have been arbitrarily adopted for purposes of science, in opposition to those which are connected with sensible objects.

The mystic sense of all your terms,  
 That are indeed but magic charms  
 To raise the devil, and mean one thing,  
 And that is downright conjuring;  
 And in itself more warrantable<sup>o</sup> 595  
 Than cheat or canting to a rabble,  
 Or putting tricks upon the moon,  
 Which by confed'racy are done.  
 Your ancient conjurers were wont  
 To make her from her sphere dismount,<sup>1</sup> 600  
 And to their incantations stoop;  
 They scorn'd to pore thro' telescope,  
 Or idly play at bo-peep with her,  
 To find out cloudy or fair weather,  
 Which ev'ry almanac can tell 605  
 Perhaps as learnedly and well  
 As you yourself—Then, friend, I doubt  
 You go the furthest way about:  
 Your modern Indian magician  
 Makes but a hole in th' earth to piss in,<sup>2</sup> 610

<sup>o</sup> *And in itself more warrantable*] The knight has no faith in astrology; but wishes the conjurer to own plainly that he deals with the devil, and then he will hope for some satisfaction from him. To shew what may be done in this way, he recounts the great achievements of sorcerers.

<sup>1</sup> *Your ancient conjurers were wont*

*To make her from her sphere dismount,*] So the witch Canidia boasts of herself in Horace: — Polo

*Deripere lunam vocibus possim meis.*

The ancients frequently introduced this fiction. See Virgil, Eclogue viii. 69. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii. 207. Propertius, book i. elegy i. 19. and Tibullus, book i. elegy ii. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Your modern Indian magician*

*Makes but a hole in th' earth—*] “The king presently called to

And straight resolves all questions by't,  
 And seldom fails to be i' th' right.  
 The Rosy-crucian way's more sure  
 To bring the devil to the lure;  
 Each of 'em has a sev'ral gin, 615  
 To catch intelligences in.<sup>3</sup>  
 Some by the nose, with fumes, trepan 'em,  
 As Dunstan did the devil's grannam.<sup>4</sup>  
 Others with characters and words  
 Catch 'em, as men in nets do birds;<sup>5</sup> 620  
 And some with symbols, signs, and tricks,  
 Engrav'd in planetary nicks,<sup>6</sup>

"his Bongi to clear the air; the conjurer immediately made a hole  
 "in the ground, wherein he urined." Le Blanc's Travels, p. 98.  
 The ancient Zabii used to dig a hole in the earth, and fill it with  
 blood, as the means of forming a correspondence with demons, and  
 obtaining their favour.

<sup>3</sup> *To catch intelligences in.*] To secure demons or spirits.

<sup>4</sup> *Some by the nose, with fumes trepan 'em,*

*As Dunstan did the devil's grannam;*] The chymists and alchymists. In the Remains of Butler, vol. ii. p. 235. we read: "these  
 "spirits they use to catch by the noses with fumigations, as  
 "St. Dunstan did the devil, by a pair of tongs." The story of  
 St. Dunstan taking the devil by the nose with a pair of hot pincers,  
 has been frequently related. St. Dunstan lived in the tenth cen-  
 tury: was a great admirer and proficient in the polite arts, particu-  
 larly painting and sculpture. As he was very attentively in his cell  
 engraving a gold cup, the devil tempted him in the shape of a beau-  
 tiful woman. The saint, perceiving in the spirit who it was, took  
 up a red hot pair of tongs, and catching hold of the devil by the  
 nose, made him howl in such a terrible manner, as to be heard all  
 over the neighbourhood.

<sup>5</sup> *Others with characters and words*

*Catch 'em as men in nets do birds;*] By repetition of magical  
 sounds and words, properly called enchantments.

<sup>6</sup> *And some with symbols, signs, and tricks,*

*Engrav'd in planetary nicks,*] By figures and signatures described

With their own influences will fetch 'em  
 Down from their orbs, arrest, and catch 'em ;'  
 Make 'em depose, and answer to 625  
 All questions, e'er they let them go.  
 Bombastus kept a devil's bird  
 Shut in the pummel of his sword,<sup>a</sup>  
 That taught him all the cunning pranks  
 Of past and future mountebanks. 630  
 Kelly did all his feats upon  
 The devil's looking glass, a stone,<sup>b</sup>

according to astrological symmetry ; that is, certain conjunctions or oppositions with the planets and aspects of the stars.

<sup>a</sup> *With their own influences will fetch 'em*

*Down from their orbs, arrest, and catch 'em ;]*

*Carmina vel cælo possunt deducere lunam.*

<sup>b</sup> *Bombastus kept a devil's bird*

*Shut in the pummel of his sword,]* Bombastus de Hohenheim, called also Aurelius Philippus, and Theophrastus, but more generally known by the name of Paracelsus, was son of William Hohenheim, and author, or rather restorer, of chymical pharmacy. He ventured upon a free administering of mercury and laudanum ; and performed cures, which, in those days of ignorance, were deemed supernatural. He entertained some whimsical notions concerning the antediluvian form of man, and man's generation. Mr. Butler's note on this passage is in the following words : " Paracelsus is said to have kept a small devil prisoner in the pummel of his sword ; which was the reason, perhaps, why he was so valiant in his drink. However, it was to better purpose than Hannibal carried poison in his sword, to dispatch himself if he should happen to be surprised in any great extremity : for the sword would have done the feat alone much better and more soldier-like. And it was below the honour of so great a commander to go out of the world like a rat."

<sup>c</sup> *Kelly did all his feats upon*

*The devil's looking glass, a stone,]* Dr. Dee had a stone, which he called his angelical stone, pretending that it was brought to him

Where, playing with him at bo-peep,  
He solv'd all problems ne'er so deep.

by an angel: and "by a spirit it was, sure enough," says Dr. M. Casaubon. We find Dee himself telling the emperor, "that the angels of God had brought to him a stone of that value, that no earthly kingdom is of that worthiness, as to be compared to the virtue or dignity thereof."\* It was large, round, and very transparent; and persons who were qualified for the sight of it, were to perceive various shapes and figures, either represented in it as in a looking-glass, or standing upon it as on a pedestal. This stone is now in the possession of the very learned and ingenious earl of Orford, at Strawberry-hill.† It appears to be a volcanic production, of the species vulgarly called the black Iceland agate, which is a perfectly vitrified lava; and according to Bergman's analysis, contains of siliceous earth sixty-nine parts in an hundred: argillaceous twenty-two parts, and martial nine. See Berg. Opusc. vol. iii. p. 204. and Letters from Iceland, lett. 25. The lapis obsidianus of the ancients is supposed to have been of this species: a stone, according to Pliny, "*quem in Æthiopia invenit Obsidius, nigerrimi coloris aliquando et translucidi, crassiore visu, atque in speculis parietum pro imagine umbras reddente.*" Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. cap. 26. The same kind of stone is found also in South America; and called by the Spaniards, from its colour, *pedra de gallinaço*. The poet might here term it the devil's looking-glass, from the use which Dee and Kelly made of it; and because it has been the common practice of conjurers to answer the enquiries of persons, by representations shewn to them in a looking-glass. Dr. M. Casaubon quotes a passage to this purpose from a manuscript of Roger Bacon, inscribed, *De dictis et factis falsorum mathematicorum et dæmonum*. "The demons sometimes appear to them really, sometimes imaginarily

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\* See Casaubon's relation of what passed between Dr. Dee and some spirits, printed at London, 1659.

† The authenticity and identity of this stone cannot be doubted, as its descent is more clearly proved than that of Agamemnon's sceptre. It was specified in the catalogue of the earl of Peterborough, at Drayton; thence fell to lady Betty Germaine, who gave it to the duke of Argyle, and his son lord Frederick Campbell to lord Orford.

Agrippa kept a Stygian pug, 635  
 I th' garb and habit of a dog,<sup>1</sup>  
 That was his tutor, and the cur  
 Read to th' occult philosopher,<sup>2</sup>

"in basons and polished things, and shew them whatever they desire. "Boys, looking upon these surfaces, see by imagination, things that "have been stolen; to what places they have been carried; what "persons took them away; and the like." In the proœmium of Joach. Camerarius to Plutarch De Oraculis, we are told that a gentleman of Nurimberg had a crystal which had this singular virtue, viz. if any one desired to know any thing past or future, let a young man, castum, or who was not yet of age, look into it; he would first see a man, so and so apparelled, and afterwards what he desired. We meet with a similar story in Heylin's History of the Reformation, part iii. The earl of Hertford, brother to queen Jane Seymour, having formerly been employed in France, acquainted himself there with a learned man, who was supposed to have great skill in magic. To this person, by rewards and importunities, he applied for information concerning his affairs at home; and his impertinent curiosity was so far gratified, that by the help of some magical perspective, he beheld a gentleman in a more familiar posture with his wife than was consistent with the honour of either party. To this diabolical illusion he is said to have given so much credit, that he not only estranged himself from her society at his return, but furnished a second wife with an excellent reason for urging the disinherison of his former children. The ancients had also the *Λισθαυρετα*.

<sup>1</sup> *Agrippa kept a Stygian pug,*

*I th' garb and habit of a dog,*] "As Paracelsus had a devil confined in the pummel of his sword, so Agrippa had one tied to his "dog's collar," says Erastus. It is probable that the collar had some strange unintelligible characters engraven upon it. Mr. Butler hath a note on these lines in the following words: "Cornelius "Agrippa had a dog that was suspected to be a spirit, for some "tricks he was wont to do beyond the capacity of a dog. But the "author of *Magia Adamica* has taken a great deal of pains to vindicate both the doctor and the dog from that aspersion; in which "he has shewn a very great respect and kindness for them both."

<sup>2</sup> *That was his tutor, and the cur*

*Read to th' occult philosopher,*] A book entitled, *De Occultis*

And taught him subt'ly to maintain  
 All other sciences are vain.<sup>a</sup> 640  
 To this, quoth Sidrophello, Sir,  
 Agrippa was no conjurer,<sup>c</sup>  
 Nor Paracelsus, no, nor Behmen ;  
 Nor was the dog a caco-dæmon,  
 But a true dog that would shew tricks 645  
 For th' emp'rour, and leap o'er sticks ;  
 Would fetch and carry, was more civil  
 Than other dogs, but yet no devil ;  
 And whatsoe'er he's said to do,  
 He went the self-same way we go. 650  
 As for the Rosy-cross philosophers,  
 Whom you will have to be but sorcerers,  
 What they pretend to is no more  
 Than Trismegistus did before,<sup>d</sup>

Philosophiâ, was ascribed to Agrippa ; and from thence he was called the occult philosopher.

<sup>a</sup> *And taught him subt'ly to maintain*

*All other sciences are vain.*] Bishop Warburton says, nothing can be more pleasant than this turn given to Agrippa's silly book, *De Vanitate Scientiarum*.

<sup>c</sup> *To this, quoth Sidrophello, Sir,*

*Agrippa was no conjurer.*] A subject of much disputation. Paulus Jovius, and others, maintain that he was. Wierus and Monsieur Naudé endeavour to vindicate him from the charge : *Apologie pour les grands hommes accusés de magie*. Perhaps we may best apologize for Agrippa, by saying, that he was not the author of every book which has been attributed to him. See canto i. line 540.

<sup>d</sup> *What they pretend to is no more*

*Than Trismegistus did before.*] The Egyptian Thoth or Tout, called Hermes by the Greeks, and Mercury by the Latins, from whom the chymists pretend to have derived their art, is supposed to have lived soon after the time of Moses, and to have made improve-

Pythagoras, old Zoroaster,\*  
And Apollonius their master,

655

ments in every branch of learning. "Thoth," says Lactantius, "antiquissimus et instructissimus omni genere doctrinæ, adeo ut ei multarum rerum et artium scientiâ Trismegisto cognomen imponeret." B. i. cap. 6. The Egyptians anciently engraved their laws and discoveries in science upon columns, which were deposited in the colleges of the priests. The column in their language was termed Thoth. And in a country where almost every thing became an object of worship, it is no wonder that the sacred column should be personified, and that Thoth should be revered as the inventor or great promoter of learning.

\* *Pythagoras, old Zoroaster,*] Pythagoras, a Greek philosopher, flourished about the sixth or seventh century before Christ. He was the scholar of Thales; and travelled forty years in Egypt, Chaldea, and other parts of the East, velut pædo literarum, for the sake of improvement. See Diog. Laert. He was initiated into all their mysteries. At last he settled in Italy, and founded the Italic sect. He commonly expressed himself by symbols. Many incredible stories are reported of him by Laertius, Jamblicus, and others. Old Zoroaster, so old that authors know not when he lived. Some make him cotemporary with Abraham. Others place him five thousand years before the Trojan war. Justin says of him, "Postremum illi (Nino) bellum cum Zoroastre, rege Bactrianorum fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse, et mundi principia, siderumque motus diligentissimè spectasse." Lib. i. cap. 1.

† *And Apollonius their master,*] Apollonius, of Tyana, lived in the time of Domitian. He embraced the doctrines of Pythagoras; travelled far both east and west; everywhere spent much of his time in the temples; was a critical inspector of the pagan worship; and set himself to reform and purify their ritual. He was much averse to animal sacrifices, and condemned the exhibitions of gladiators. Many improbable wonders are related of him by Philostratus; and more are added by subsequent writers. According to these accounts he raised the dead, rendered himself invisible,\* was seen at Rome

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\* The heathens were fond of comparing these feats with the miracles of Jesus Christ.



To whom they do confess they owe  
All that they do, and all they know.

Quoth Hudibras, Alas ! what is't t' us  
Whether 'twas said by Trismegistus, 660  
If it be nonsense, false, or mystic,  
Or not intelligible, or sophistic ?  
'Tis not antiquity, nor author,  
That makes truth truth, altho' time's daughter ;  
'Twas he that put her in the pit, 665  
Before he pull'd her out of it ;<sup>o</sup>

and Puteoli on the same day ; and proclaimed at Ephesus the murder of Domitian at the very instant of its perpetration at Rome. This last fact is attested by Dio Cassius, the consular historian ; who, with the most vehement asseverations, affirms it to be certainly true, though it should be denied a thousand times over. Yet the same Dio elsewhere calls him a cheat and impostor. Dio lxxviii. ult. et lxxvii. 18. For an account of the difference of the *Γοηρεία*, *Μαγεία*, *Φαρμακεία*, three of the principal ancient superstitions brought from Persia, see Suidas in vocem *Γοηρεία*. Their master, i. e. master of of the Rosicrucians.

<sup>o</sup> 'Tis not antiquity, nor author,

*That makes truth truth, altho' time's daughter ;*] The knight argues that opinions are not always to be received on the authority of a great name ; nor does the antiquity of an opinion ever constitute the truth of it, though time will often give stability to truth, and foster it as a legitimate offspring. Yet perhaps there is many a learned character to which the lines of Horace are applicable :

Qui redit in fastos, et virtutem æstimat annis ;  
Miraturque nihil, nisi quod Libitina sacravit.

Epist. lib. ii. ep. i. 48.

<sup>o</sup> 'Twas he that put her in the pit,

*Before he pull'd her out of it ;*] Time brings many truths to light : according to Horace, Epist. lib. i. ep. vi. 24 :

Quicquid sub terrâ est in apricum proferet ætas.

But time often involves subjects in perplexity, and occasions

And as he eats his sons, just so  
 He feeds upon his daughters too.<sup>1</sup>  
 Nor does it follow, 'cause a herald  
 Can make a gentleman, scarce a year old,<sup>2</sup> 670  
 To be descended of a race  
 Of ancient kings in a small space,  
 That we should all opinions hold  
 Authentic, that we can make old.  
 Quoth Sidrophel, It is no part 675  
 Of prudence to cry down an art,

those very difficulties which afterwards it helps to remove. "Veritatem in puteo latentem non inconcinne finxit antiquitas." Cicero employs a saying of Democritus to this purpose, *Academ. Quæst. i. 12.* "angustus sensus, imbecillos animos, brevia curricula vitæ, et "ut Democritus, in profundo veritatem esse demersam." Again in Lucullo: "Naturam accusa, quæ in profundo veritatem, ut ait "Democritus, penitus abstruserit." Bishop Warburton observes, that the satire contained in these lines of our author is fine and just. Cleanthes said, "that truth was hid in a pit." "Yes," answers the poet; "but you Greek philosophers were the first that put her in there, "and then claimed so much merit to yourselves for drawing her out." The first Greek philosophers greatly obscured truth by their endless speculations, and it was business enough for the industry and talents of their successors to clear matters up.

<sup>1</sup> *And as he eats his sons, just so  
 He feeds upon his daughters too.*] If truth is "time's daughter," yet Saturn, *Χρόνος*, or Time, may be never the kinder to her on that account. For as poets feign that Saturn eats his sons, so he feeds upon his daughters. He devours truths as well as years, and buries them in oblivion.

<sup>2</sup> *Nor does it follow, 'cause a herald  
 Can make a gentleman, scarce a year old,*] In all civil wars the order of things is subverted; the poor become rich, and the rich poor. And they who suddenly gain riches must in the next place be furnished with an honourable pedigree. Many instances of this

And what it may perform, deny,  
 Because you understand not why ;  
 As Averrhois play'd but a mean trick,  
 To damn our whole art for eccentrick,<sup>a</sup> 680  
 For who knows all that knowledge contains ?  
 Men dwell not on the tops of mountains,  
 But on their sides, or risings seat ;  
 So 'tis with knowledge's vast height.  
 Do not the hist'ries of all ages 685  
 Relate miraculous presages  
 Of strange turns, in the world's affairs,  
 Foreseen b' astrologers, sooth-sayers,  
 Chaldeans, learn'd Genethliacs,<sup>4</sup>  
 And some that have writ almanacs ? 690  
 The Median emp'ror dream'd his daughter  
 Had pist all Asia under water,<sup>5</sup>

kind are preserved in Walker's History of Independency, Bate's Lives of the Regicides, &c.

<sup>a</sup> *As Averrhois play'd but a mean trick,*

*To damn our whole art for eccentrick,*] Averroes flourished in the twelfth century. He was a great critic, lawyer, and physician ; and one of the most subtle philosophers that ever appeared among the Arabians. He wrote a commentary upon Aristotle, from whence he obtained the surname of commentator. He much disliked the epicycles and eccentrics which Ptolemy had introduced into his system ; they seemed so absurd to him, that they gave him a disgust to the science of astronomy in general. He does not seem to have formed a more favourable opinion of astrology. Here likewise was too much eccentricity : and he condemned the art as useless and fallacious, having no foundation of truth or certainty.

<sup>4</sup> *Chaldeans, learn'd Genethliacs,*] Genethliaci, termed also Chaldæi, were soothsayers, who undertook to foretel the fortunes of men from circumstances attending their births. Casters of nativity.

<sup>5</sup> *The Median emp'ror dream'd his daughter*

*Had pist all Asia under water,*] Astyages king of Media had this

And that a vine, sprung from her haunches,  
 O'erspread his empire with its branches ;  
 And did not soothsayers expound it, 695  
 As after by th' event he found it ?  
 When Cæsar in the senate fell,  
 Did not the sun eclips'd foretell,\*  
 And in resentment of his slaughter,  
 Look'd pale for almost a year after ? 700  
 Augustus having, b' oversight,  
 Put on his left shoe 'fore his right,'  
 Had like to have been slain that day,  
 By soldiers mutin'ing for pay.

dream of his daughter Mandane ; and being alarmed at the interpretation of it which was given by the magi, he married her to Cambysea, a Persian of mean quality. Her son was Cyrus, who fulfilled the dream by the conquest of Asia. See Herodotus, i. 107. and Justin.

\* *When Cæsar in the senate fell,*

*Did not the sun eclips'd foretell,]* The prodigies which are said to have been noticed before the death of Cæsar, are mentioned by several of the classics, Virgil, Ovid, Plutarch, &c. But the poet alludes to what is related by Pliny in his *Natural History*, ii. 30. "*sunt prodigiosi, et longiores solis defectus, qualis occiso Cæsare dictatore, et Antoniano bello, totius pæne anni pallore continuo.*"

† *Augustus having, b' oversight,*

*Put on his left shoe 'fore his right,]* An excellent banter upon omens and prodigies. Pliny gives this account in his second book : "*Divus Augustus lævum prodidit sibi calceum præpostere inductum, quo die seditione militari prope addictus est.*" And Suetonius, in "*Augusti Vita*, sect. 92. says : "*(Augustus) auspicia quædam et omnia pro certissimis observabat, si mane sibi calceus perperam, ac sinister pro dextro induceretur, ut dirum.*" Charles the first is said to have been much affected by some omens of this kind, such as the sortes Virgilianæ, observations on his bust made by Bernini, and on his picture.

Are there not myriads of this sort, 705  
 Which stories of all times report ?  
 Is it not ominous in all countries,  
 When crows and ravens croak upon trees ?  
 The Roman senate, when within  
 The city walls an owl was seen,<sup>a</sup> 710  
 Did cause their clergy, with lustrations,  
 Our synod calls humiliations,  
 The round-fac'd prodigy t' avert  
 From doing town or country hurt.  
 And if an owl have so much pow'r, 715  
 Why should not planets have much more,  
 That in a region far above  
 Inferior fowls of the air move,  
 And should see further, and foreknow  
 More than their augury below ? 720  
 Tho' that once serv'd the polity  
 Of mighty states to govern by ;<sup>b</sup>  
 And this is what we take in hand,  
 By pow'rful art, to understand ;

<sup>a</sup> *The Roman senate, when within*

*The city walls an owl was seen,]* Anno ante Christum 97, bubone in urbe viso, urbs lustrata. Bubone in capitolio supra deorum simulacra viso, cum piaretur, taurus victima exanimis concidit. Jullus Obsequens, No. 44-45, et Lycosthenes, p. 194-195.

<sup>b</sup> *Tho' that once serv'd the polity*

*Of mighty states to govern by ;]* It appears from many passages of Cicero, and other authors, that the determinations of the augurs, aruspices, and the sibylline books, were commonly contrived to promote the ends of government, or to serve the purposes of the chief managers in the commonwealth.

Which, how we have perform'd, all ages 725  
 Can speak th' events of our presages.  
 Have we not lately in the moon,  
 Found a new world, to th' old unknown?  
 Discover'd sea and land Columbus  
 And Magellan could never compass? 730  
 Made mountains with our tubes appear,  
 And cattle grazing on them there?  
 Quoth Hudibras, You lie so ope,  
 That I, without a telescope,  
 Can find your tricks out, and descry 735  
 Where you tell truth, and where you lie:  
 For Anaxagoras long ago,  
 Saw hills, as well as you, i' th' moon,<sup>1</sup>  
 And held the sun was but a piece  
 Of red hot iron as big as Greece ;<sup>2</sup> 740

<sup>1</sup> *For Anaxagoras long ago,*

*Saw hills, as well as you, i' th' moon ;*] See Burnet's *Archæolog.* cap. x. p. 144. Anaxagoras of Clazomene was the first of the Ionic philosophers who maintained that the several parts of the universe were the works of a supreme intelligent being, and consequently did not allow the sun and moon to be gods. On this account he was accused of impiety, and thrown into prison ; but released by Pericles. Plutarch in *Nicia* : " Are they not dreams of human vanity," says Montaigne, " to make the moon a celestial earth, there to fancy " mountains and vales as Anaxagoras did." And see Plutarch de *Faictis philosophorum*, Diog. Laert. and Plato de *legibus*. The poet might probably have bishop Wilkins in view, who maintained that the moon was an habitable world, and proposed schemes for flying there.

<sup>2</sup> *And held the sun was but a piece*

*Of red hot iron as big as Greece ;*] Speaking of Anaxagoras, Monsieur Chevreau says : " We may easily excuse the ill humour of " one who was seldom of the opinion of others : who maintained

Believ'd the heav'ns were made of stone,  
 Because the sun had voided one ;<sup>a</sup>  
 And, rather than he would recant  
 Th' opinion, suffer'd banishment.

But what, alas ! is it to us, 745  
 Whether i' th' moon, men thus or thus  
 Do eat their porridge, cut their corns,  
 Or whether they have tails or horns ?  
 What trade from thence can you advance,  
 But what we nearer have from France ? 750  
 What can our travellers bring home,  
 That is not to be learnt at Rome ?  
 What politics, or strange opinions,  
 That are not in our own dominions ?

“ that snow was black, because it was made of water, which is black ;  
 “ who took the heavens to be an arch of stone, which rolled about  
 “ continually ; and the moon a piece of inflamed earth ; and the sun  
 “ (which is about 434 times bigger than the earth) for a plate of  
 “ red-hot steel, of the bigness of Peloponnesus.” In Mr. Butler's  
 Remains we read :

For th' ancients only took it for a piece  
 Of red hot iron, as big as Peloponese.

Rudis antiquitas, Homerum secuta, cœlum credidit esse ferreum.  
 Sed Homerus a coloris similitudine ferreum dixit, non a pondere.

<sup>a</sup> *Believ'd the heav'ns were made of stone,*  
*Because the sun had voided one ;*] Anaxagoras had foretold that a  
 large stone would fall from heaven, and it was supposed afterward  
 to have been found near the river Ægos. Laert. ii. 10. and Plutarch  
 in Lysandro, who discusses the matter at length. Mr. Costard ex-  
 plains this prediction to mean the approach of a comet ; and we  
 learn from the testimony of Aristotle, and others, that a comet  
 appeared at that juncture, olymp. lxxviii. 2. See Aristot. Meteor.  
 The fall of the stone is recorded in the Arundel marbles.

What science can be brought from thence, 755  
 In which we do not here commence ?  
 What revelations, or religions,  
 That are not in our native regions ?  
 Are sweating-lanterns, or screen-fans,<sup>4</sup>  
 Made better there than they're in France ? 760  
 Or do they teach to sing and play  
 O' th' guitar there a newer way ?  
 Can they make plays there, that shall fit  
 The public humour with less wit ?  
 Write wittier dances, quainter shows, 765  
 Or fight with more ingenious blows ?  
 Or does the man i' th' moon look big,  
 And wear a huger periwig,  
 Shew in his gait, or face, more tricks  
 Than our own native lunaticks ?<sup>5</sup> 770  
 But, if w' outdo him here at home,  
 What good of your design can come ?

<sup>4</sup> *Are sweating-lanterns, or screen-fans,*] These lanterns, as the poet calls them, were boxes, wherein the whole body was placed, together with a lamp. They were used, by quacks, in the venereal disease, or to bring on perspiration. See Swift's Works, vol. vi. Pethox the Great, v. 56. Hawkesworth's edition. Screen fans are used to shade the eyes from the fire, and commonly hang by the side of the chimney; sometimes ladies carried them along with them: they were made of leather, or paper, or feathers. I have a picture of Miss Ireton, who married Richard Walsh, of Abberley, in Worcestershire, with a curious feathered fan in her hand.

<sup>5</sup> *Shew in his gait, or face, more tricks*  
*Than our own native lunaticks ?*] These and the foregoing lines were a satire upon the gait, dress, and carriage of the fops and beaux of those days.



As wind, i' th' hypocondres pent,\*  
 Is but a blast, if downward sent;  
 But if it upward chance to fly, 775  
 Becomes new light and prophecy;<sup>†</sup>  
 So when our speculations tend  
 Above their just and useful end,  
 Altho' they promise strange and great  
 Discoveries of things far fet, 780  
 They are but idle dreams and fancies,  
 And savour strongly of the ganzas.<sup>‡</sup>

\* *As wind, i' th' hypocondres pent,*] In the belly, under the short ribs. These lines are thus turned into Latin by Dr. Harmer :

Sic hypocondriacis inclusa meatibus aura  
 Desinet in crepitum, si fertur prona per alvum;  
 Sed si summa petat, mentisque invaserit arcem  
 Divinus furor est, et conscia flamma futuri.

<sup>†</sup> *Becomes new light and prophecy;*] New light was the phrase at that time for any new opinion in religion, and is frequently alluded to by our poet: the phrase, I am told, prevails still in New England, as it does now in the north of Ireland, where the dissenters are chiefly divided into two sects, usually styled the old and the new lights. The old lights are such as rigidly adhere to the old Calvinistic doctrine; and the new lights are those who have adopted the more modern latitudinarian opinions: these are frequently averse and hostile to each other, as their predecessors the presbyterians and independents were in the time of Butler.

<sup>‡</sup> *And savour strongly of the ganzas.*] Godwin, afterwards bishop of Hereford, wrote, in his youth, a kind of astronomical romance, under the feigned name of a Spaniard, Domingo Gonzales, and entitled it the *Man in the Moon*, or a *Discourse on a Voyage thither*. It gives an account of his being drawn up to the moon in a light vehicle, by certain birds called ganzas. And the knight censures the pretensions of Sidrophel, by comparing them with this wild expedition. The poet likewise might intend to banter some projects of the learned bishop Wilkins, one of the first promoters of the Royal

Tell me but what's the natural cause,  
 Why on a sign no painter draws  
 The full moon ever, but the half? 785  
 Resolve that with your Jacob's staff;<sup>o</sup>  
 Or why wolves raise a hubbub at her,  
 And dogs howl when she shines in water?  
 And I shall freely give my vote,  
 You may know something more remote. 790  
 At this, deep Sidrophel look'd wise,  
 And staring round with owl-like eyes,  
 He put his face into a posture  
 Of sapience, and began to bluster;  
 For having three times shook his head 795  
 To stir his wit up, thus he said:  
 Art has no mortal enemies,  
 Next ignorance, but owls and geese:<sup>1</sup>  
 Those consecrated geese, in orders,  
 That to the Capitol were warders,<sup>2</sup> 800

Society. At this institution, and its favourers, many a writer of that day has shot his bolt—*telum imbellè sine ictu*.

<sup>o</sup> *Resolve that with your Jacob's staff;*] A mathematical instrument for taking the heights and distances of stars.

<sup>1</sup> *Art has no mortal enemies,*

*Next ignorance, but owls and geese:*] “*Et quod vulgo aiunt, “artem non habere inimicum nisi ignorantem.”* Sprat thought it necessary to write many pages to shew that natural philosophy was not likely to subvert our government, or our religion; and that experimental knowledge had no tendency to make men either bad subjects or bad christians. See Sprat's History of the Royal Society.

<sup>2</sup> *That to the Capitol were warders,*] Our ancestors called the garrison of a castle or fortress its warders; hence our word guardian. Lands lying near many of the old castles were held by the

And being then upon patrol,  
 With noise alone beat off the Gaul ;  
 Or those Athenian sceptic owls,  
 That will not credit their own souls,<sup>3</sup>  
 Or any science understand, 805  
 Beyond the reach of eye or hand ;  
 But measuring all things by their own  
 Knowledge, hold nothing's to be known :  
 Those wholesale critics, that in coffee-  
 Houses cry down all philosophy, 810  
 And will not know upon what ground  
 In nature we our doctrine found,

tenure of castle-ward, the possessors being obliged to find so many men for the ward or guard of the castle. This was afterwards commuted into pecuniary payments, with which the governors hired mercenary soldiers, or warders : the warders of the Tower of London still preserve the old appellation.

<sup>3</sup> *Or those Athenian sceptic owls,*

*That will not credit their own souls,*] Incredulous persons. He calls them owls on account of their pretensions to great depth of learning, the owl being used as an emblem of wisdom ; and Athenian, because that bird was sacred to Minerva, the protectress of Athens, and was borne on the standards of the city. Herald's say, *noctua signum est sapientiæ* ; for she retires in the day, and avoids the tumult of the world, like a man employed in study and contemplation. Since the owl however is usually considered as a moping drowsy bird, the poet intimates that the knowledge of these sceptics is obscure, confused, and indigested. The meaning of the whole passage is this :—There are two sorts of men, who are great enemies to the advancement of science. The first, bigoted divines, upon hearing of any new discovery in nature, apprehend an attack upon religion, and proclaim loudly that the capitol, i. e. the faith of the church, is in danger. The others are self-sufficient philosophers, who lay down arbitrary principles, and reject every truth which does not coincide with them.

Altho' with pregnant evidence  
 We can demonstrate it to sense,  
 As I just now have done to you, 815  
 Foretelling what you came to know.  
 Were the stars only made to light  
 Robbers and burglars by night ?<sup>4</sup>  
 To wait on drunkards, thieves, gold-finders,  
 And lovers solacing behind doors ? 820  
 Or giving one another pledges  
 Of matrimony under hedges ?  
 Or witches simpling, and on gibbets  
 Cutting from malefactors snippets ?<sup>5</sup>  
 Or from the pill'ry tips of ears 825  
 Of rebel-saints and perjurers ?

<sup>4</sup> *Were the stars only made to light*

*Robbers and burglars by night ?*] The poets thought the stars were not made only to light robbers. See the beautiful address to Hesperus :

"Ἐσπερε, τὰς ἱερὰς χρύσειον φάος Ἀφρογενείας, &c.—Brunk. ηας.

—— οὐκ ἐπὶ πυρᾶν

"Ἐρχομαι, οὐδ' ἵνα νυκτὸς ὁδοιποροῖοντ' ἰνοχλήσω,

'Ἄλλ' ἱρᾶω, &c.

Bion. ii. 392. Brunk. An. vol. i. Mosch. Idyl. vii. according to the Oxford edit. of Bion and Moschus. E typ. Clar. 1748.

Sidrophel argues, that so many luminous bodies could never have been constructed for the sole purpose of affording a little light, in the absence of the sun. His reasoning does not contribute much to the support of astrology ; but it seems to favour the notion of a plurality of worlds.

<sup>5</sup> *Or witches simpling, and on gibbets*

*Cutting from malefactors snippets ?*] Collecting herbs, and other requisites, for their enchantments. See Shakspeare's *Macbeth*, Act iv.

Only to stand by, and look on,  
 But not know what is said or done?  
 Is there a constellation there  
 That was not born and bred up here? 830  
 And therefore cannot be to learn  
 In any inferior concern?  
 Were they not, during all their lives,  
 Most of 'em pirates, whores, and thieves?  
 And is it like they have not still, 835  
 In their old practices, some skill?  
 Is there a planet that by birth  
 Does not derive its house from earth?  
 And therefore probably must know  
 What is, and hath been done below, 840  
 Who made the Balance, or whence came  
 The Bull, the Lion, and the Ram?  
 Did not we here the Argo rig,  
 Make Berenice's periwig? 7

• *Is there a constellation there*

*That was not born and bred up here?*] Astronomers, both ancient and modern, have divided the heavens into certain figures, representing animals and other objects. Eratosthenes, the scholiast on Aratus, and Julius Hyginus, mention the reasons which determined men to the choice of these particular figures. See Sir Isaac Newton's *Chronology of the Greeks*, p. 83.

*'Made Berenice's periwig?'*] The constellation called coma Berenices. Berenice, the wife of Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt; in consequence of a vow, cut off and dedicated some of her beautiful hair to Venus, on the return of her husband from a military expedition. And Conon, the mathematician, paid her a handsome compliment, by forming the constellation of this name. Callimachus wrote a poem to celebrate her affection and piety: a translation of it by Catullus is still preserved in the works of that author.

Whose liv'ry does the Coachman wear? 845

Or who made Cassiopeia's chair?

And therefore, as they came from hence,

With us may hold intelligence.

Plato deny'd the world can be

Govern'd without geometry,<sup>a</sup> 850

For money b'ing the common scale

Of things by measure, weight, and tale,

In all th' affairs of church and state,

'Tis both the balance and the weight:

Then much less can it be without 855

Divine astrology made out,

That puts the other down in worth,

As far as heaven's above earth.

These reasons, quoth the Knight, I grant

Are something more significant 860

Than any that the learned use

Upon this subject to produce;

And yet they're far from satisfactory,

T' establish and keep up your factory.

Th' Egyptians say, the sun has twice<sup>b</sup> 865

Shifted his setting and his rise;

<sup>a</sup> *Plato deny'd the world can be*

*Govern'd without geometry.*] Plato, out of fondness for geometry, has employed it in all his systems. He used to say that the Deity did γεωμετρῆν, play the geometrician; that is, do every thing by weight and measure.

<sup>b</sup> *Th' Egyptians say, the sun has twice*

*Shifted his setting and his rise;*

*Twice has he risen in the west,*

*As many times set in the east;*] The Egyptian priests informed Herodotus that, in the space of 11340 years, the sun had four times

Twice has he risen in the west,  
 As many times set in the east ;  
 But whether that be true or no,  
 The devil any of you know. 870  
 Some hold, the heavens, like a top,  
 Are kept by circulation up,<sup>1</sup>

risen and set out of its usual course, rising twice where it now sets, and setting twice where it now rises—*ἐνθα τε νῦν καταδύεται, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἵπαντεῖται καὶ ἐνθεν*, &c. Herodotus, Euterpe, seu lib. ii. 142. A learned person supposes this account to be a corrupt tradition of the miraculous stop, or recession of the sun, in the times of Joshua and Hezekiah. Others suppose that, what the priests told him for a chronical, was mistaken by Herodotus for an astronomical phenomenon; and that the particulars, which he has recorded in the words *ἐνθα* and *ἐνθεῦτεν*, related only to the time of the day or year, and not to the place or quarter of the heavens. The Egyptian year consisted of no more than 360 days; and therefore the day in their calendar, which was once the summer solstice, would in 730 years become their winter solstice; and, in 1461 years, it would come to their summer solstice again. This Censorinus tells us was really the case. So that the four revolutions would happen in a much shorter time than the priests had assigned for them. Dr. Long explodes the whole for an idle story, invented by the Egyptians to support their vain pretensions to antiquity; and fit to pass only among persons who have no knowledge of astronomy. Indeed no others would believe that the cardinal points were entirely changed, or the rotation of the earth inverted. See Spenser, Fairy Queen, b. v. c. i. stanz. 6, 7, and 8, &c.

And if to those Egyptian wisards old  
 (Which in star-read were wont have best insight)  
 Faith may be given, it is by them told  
 That since the time they first tooke the Sunnes hight,  
 Foure times his place he shifted hath in sight,  
 And twice hath risen where he now doth west,  
 And wested twice where he ought rise aright.

<sup>1</sup> *Some hold, the heavens, like a top,  
 Are kept by circulation up,*] It is mentioned as the opinion of

And were 't not for their wheeling round,  
 They'd instantly fall to the ground :  
 As sage Empedocles of old, 875  
 And from him modern authors hold.  
 Plato believ'd the sun and moon  
 Below all other planets run.<sup>a</sup>  
 Some Mercury, some Venus seat  
 Above the Sun himself in height. 880  
 The learned Scaliger complain'd  
 'Gainst what Copernicus maintain'd,<sup>b</sup>  
 That in twelve hundred years, and odd,  
 The Sun had left his ancient road,  
 And nearer to the Earth is come, 885  
 'Bove fifty thousand miles from home :  
 Swore 'twas a most notorious flam,  
 And he that had so little shame

Anaxagoras, that the whole heaven, which was composed of stone, was kept up by violent circumrotation, but would fall when the rapidity of that motion should be remitted. Some do Anaxagoras the honour to suppose, that this conceit of his gave the first hint toward the modern explication of the planetary motions.

<sup>a</sup> *Plato believ'd the sun and moon*

*Below all other planets run.*] The knight further argues, that there can be no foundation for truth in astrology, since the learned differ so much about the planets themselves, from which astrologers chiefly draw their predictions. "Plato solem et lunam cæteris  
 "planetis inferiores esse putavit."

<sup>b</sup> *The learned Scaliger complain'd*

*'Gainst what Copernicus maintain'd,*] Copernicus thought that the eccentricity of the sun, or the obliquity of the ecliptic, had been diminished by many parts since the times of Ptolemy and Hipparchus. On which Scaliger observed, *Copernici scripta spongiis, vel autorem scuticis dignum*—that the writings of Copernicus deserved a sponge, or their author a rod.



To vent such fopperies abroad,  
 Deserv'd to have his rump well claw'd : 890  
 Which Monsieur Bodin hearing, swore  
 That he deserv'd the rod much more,<sup>a</sup>  
 That durst upon a truth give doom,  
 He knew less than the pope of Rome.  
 Cardan believ'd great states depend 895  
 Upon the tip o' th' Bear's tail's end ;<sup>b</sup>  
 That as she whisk'd it t'wards the Sun,  
 Strow'd mighty empires up and down ;  
 Which others say must needs be false,  
 Because your true bears have no tails. 900  
 Some say, the zodiac constellations  
 Have long since chang'd their antique stations<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Which Monsieur Bodin hearing, swore

That he deserv'd the rod much more,] Bodin, an eminent geographer and lawyer, was born at Angers, in France, and died of the plague at Laon, 1596, aged 67. According to his opinion, it has been clearly proved by Copernicus, Reinholdus, Stadius, and other famous mathematicians, that the circle of the earth has approached nearer to the sun than it was formerly.

<sup>b</sup> Cardan believ'd great states depend

Upon the tip o' th' Bear's tail's end ;] Cardan, a famous physician of Milan, was born at Padua, 1501. He conceived the influences of the several stars to be appropriated to particular countries. The fate of the greatest kingdoms in Europe, he said, was determined by the tail of Ursa Major. This great astrologer foretold the time of his own death. But when the appointed day drew near, he found himself in perfect health, at the seventy-fifth year of his age ; and resolved to starve himself, lest he should bring disgrace on his favourite science. Thuanus gives the character which Scaliger had drawn of him : in certain things he appeared superior to human understanding, and in a great many others inferior to that of little children. See Bayle's Dictionary, Art. Cardan.

<sup>c</sup> Some say, the zodiac constellations

Have long since chang'd their antique stations] The knight, still

Above a sign, and prove the same  
 In Taurus now, once in the Ram ;  
 Affirm'd the Trigons chopp'd and chang'd, 905  
 The wat'ry with the fiery rang'd ;<sup>\*</sup>  
 Then how can their effects still hold  
 To be the same they were of old ?  
 This, though the art were true, would make  
 Our modern soothsayers mistake,<sup>°</sup> 910  
 And is one cause they tell more lies,  
 In figures and nativities,  
 Than th' old Chaldean conjurers,  
 In so many hundred thousand years ;<sup>°</sup>

further to lessen the credit of astrology, observes that the stars have suffered a considerable variation of their longitude, by the precession of the equinoxes : for instance, the first star of Aries, which in the time of Meton the Athenian was found in the very intersection of the ecliptic and equator, is now removed eastward more than thirty degrees, so that the sign Aries possesses the place of Taurus, Taurus that of Gemini, and so on.

<sup>\*</sup> *Affirm'd the Trigons chopp'd and chang'd,*

*The wat'ry with the fiery rang'd ;*] The twelve signs in astrology are divided into four trigons, or triplicities, each denominated from the con-natural element : so they are three fiery, three airy, three watery, and three earthly.

Fiery—Aries, Leo, Sagittarius.

Earthly—Taurus, Virgo, Capricornus.

Airy—Gemini, Libra, Aquarius.

Watery—Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces.

<sup>°</sup> *This, though the art were true, would make*

*Our modern soothsayers mistake,*] See our poet's arguments put into prose by Dr. Bentley, in the latter end of his third sermon at Boyle's lectures.

<sup>°</sup> *Than th' old Chaldean conjurers,*

*In so many hundred thousand years ;*] The Chaldeans, as Cicero remarks, pretended to have been in possession of astrological know-

Beside their nonsense in translating, 915  
 For want of accidence and latin ;  
 Like Idus and Calendæ englisht  
 The quarter days, by skilful linguist ;<sup>1</sup>  
 And yet with canting, slight, and cheat,  
 'Twill serve their turn to do the feat ; 920  
 Make fools believe in their foreseeing  
 Of things before they are in being ;  
 To swallow gudgeons ere they're catch'd,  
 And count their chickens ere they're hatch'd ;  
 Make them the constellations prompt, 925  
 And give 'em back their own accompt ;  
 But still the best to him that gives  
 The best price for't, or best believes.  
 Some towns, some cities, some for brevity,  
 Have cast the 'versal world's nativity, 930

ledge for the long space of 47,000 years. But Diodorus informs us that, in things belonging to their art, they calculated by lunar years of thirty days. By this method, however, their account will reach to the creation, if not to a more distant epoch. It is well known that Berosus, or his scholars, new modelled and adopted the Babylonian doctrines to the Grecian mythology.

<sup>1</sup> *Like Idus and Calendæ englisht*

*The quarter days, by skilful linguist ;*] Mr. Smith, of Harleston, says this is a banter upon sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of Horace, Epod. ii. 69, 70.

Omnem relegit idibus pecuniam,

Quærit calendis ponere.

At Michaelmas calls all his monies in,

And at our Lady puts them out again.

The fifteenth day of March, May, July, and October, and the thirteenth day of all other months, was called the *ides*. The first day of every month was called the *calends*.

And made the infant stars confess,  
 Like fools or children, what they please.  
 Some calculate the hidden fates  
 Of monkeys, puppy-dogs, and cats ;  
 Some running-nags, and fighting-cocks,      935  
 Some love, trade, law-suits, and the pox :  
 Some take a measure of the lives  
 Of fathers, mothers, husbands, wives,  
 Make opposition, trine, and quartile,  
 Tell who is barren, and who fertile ;      940  
 As if the planet's first aspect  
 The tender infant did infect<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Make opposition, trine, and quartile,  
 Tell who is barren, and who fertile ;  
 As if the planet's first aspect*

*The tender infant did infect*] The accent is laid upon the last syllable of aspect, at it often is in Shakspeare: see Dr. Farmer's observations on the learning of Shakspeare, p. 27. Astrologers reckon five aspects of the planets: conjunction, sextile, quartile, trine, and opposition. Sextile denotes their being distant from each other a sixth part of a circle, or two signs; quartile, a fourth part, or three signs; trine, a third part, or four signs; opposition, half the circle, or directly opposite. It was the opinion of judicial astrologers, that whatever good disposition the infant might otherwise have been endued with, yet if its birth was, by any accident, so accelerated or retarded, that it fell in with the predominance of a malignant constellation, this momentary influence would entirely change its nature, and bias it to all contrary ill qualities. The ancients had an opinion of the influence of the stars:

Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum.

Horat. Ep. lib. ii. Ep. ii. l. 187.

There would be no end of quoting authors on this subject, such as Menander and Plutarch among the Greeks; and among the

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In soul and body, and instill  
 All future good and future ill ;  
 Which in their dark fatalities lurking, 945  
 At destin'd periods fall a working,  
 And break out, like the hidden seeds  
 Of long diseases, into deeds,  
 In friendships, enmities, and strife,  
 And all th' emergencies of life : 950  
 No sooner does he peep into  
 The world, but he has done his do,  
 Catch'd all diseases, took all physick,  
 That cures or kills a man that is sick ;  
 Marry'd his punctual dose of wives, 955  
 Is cuckolded, and breaks, or thrives.  
 There's but the twinkling of a star<sup>a</sup>  
 Between a man of peace and war ;

Latins, Horace, Persius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Censorinus de die natali.

*The tender infant did infect*—Thus in line 931 :

And made the infant stars confess.

<sup>a</sup> *There's but the twinkling of a star*

*Between a man of peace and war ;*

*A thief and justice, fool and knave,*

*A huffing off'cer and a slave ;*

*A crafty lawyer and pick-pocket,*

*A great philosopher and a blockhead ;*

*A formal preacher and a player,*

*A learn'd physician and man-slayer :* ] In the public opinion per-

haps there is thought to be a coincidence in these characters ; and some of them, we must own, are more nearly allied than others. The author too, with his usual pleasantry, might be willing to allow the resemblance in a certain degree : but the scope of his argument requires him to attribute to them distinct and opposite qualities ; and in this sense, no doubt, he meant seriously to be understood.

A thief and justice, fool and knave,  
 A huffing officer and a slave ; 960  
 A crafty lawyer and pick-pocket,  
 A great philosopher and a blockhead ;  
 A formal preacher and a player,  
 A learn'd physician and man-slayer :  
 As if men from the stars did suck 965  
 Old age, diseases, and ill luck,  
 Wit, folly, honour, virtue, vice,  
 Trade, travel, women, claps, and dice ;  
 And draw, with the first air they breathe,  
 Battle, and murder, sudden death.<sup>4</sup> 970  
 Are not these fine commodities  
 To be imported from the skies,  
 And vended here among the rabble,  
 For staple goods, and warrantable ?  
 Like money by the Druids borrow'd, 975  
 In th' other world to be restor'd.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Battle, and murder, sudden death.*] This is one of the petitions in the litany, which the dissenters objected to ; especially the words sudden death. See Bennet's *London Cases* abridged, ch. iv. p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> *Like money by the Druids borrow'd,*

*In th' other world to be restor'd.*] That is, astrologers, by endeavouring to persuade men that the stars have dealt out to them their future fortunes, are guilty of a similar fraud with the Druids, who borrowed money on a promise of repaying it after death. *Druidae pecuniam mutuo accipiebant, in posteriore vitâ reddituri.* This practice among the Druids was founded on their doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Valerius Maximus says of the Gauls in general, *Vetus ille Gallorum mos—quos memoria proditum est, pecunias mutuas, quæ his apud inferos redderentur, dare solitos, quia persuasum habuerunt, animas hominum immortales esse, ii. 6. 10.* And Mela says, *Unum ex iis quæ præcipiunt (Druidea) in*

Quoth Sidrophel, To let you know  
 You wrong the art and artists too :  
 Since arguments are lost on those  
 That do our principles oppose ; 980  
 I will, altho' I've don't before,  
 Demonstrate to your sense once more,  
 And draw a figure that shall tell you  
 What you, perhaps, forget befel you ;  
 By way of horary inspection,<sup>6</sup> 985  
 Which some account our worst erection.

With that, he circles draws, and squares,  
 With cyphers, astral characters,  
 Then looks 'em o'er to understand 'em,  
 Altho' set down habnab at random.<sup>7</sup> 990

Quoth he, This scheme of th' heavens set,  
 Discovers how in fight you met,  
 At Kingston, with a may-pole idol,<sup>8</sup>  
 And that y'were bang'd both back and side well ;

vulgus effluit—æternas esse animas,—itaque cum mortuis cremant  
 ac defodiunt apta viventibus olim. Negotiorum ratio etiam et ex-  
 actio crediti deferebatur ad inferos. ii. 2.—Bonzes, in the East  
 Indies, are said to have been acquainted with this practice.

<sup>6</sup> *By way of horary inspection,*] The horoscope is the point of the  
 heavens which rises above the eastern horizon, at any particular  
 moment.

<sup>7</sup> *Altho' set down habnab at random.*] Dr. Davies says habnab is a  
 Welsh word, and signifies rashly, at random.

<sup>8</sup> *Quoth he, This scheme of th' heavens set,  
 Discovers how in fight you met,*

*At Kingston, with a may-pole idol,*] Mr. Butler alludes to the  
 counterfeited second part of Hudibras, published 1663. The first  
 annotator gives us to understand, that some silly interloper had  
 broken in upon our author's design, and invented a second part of

And tho' you overcame the bear, 995  
 The dogs beat you at Brentford fair ;  
 Where sturdy butchers broke your noddle,  
 And handl'd you like a fop-doodle.

Quoth Hudibras, I now perceive  
 You are no conj'rer, by your leave ; 1000  
 That paltry story is untrue,  
 And forg'd to cheat such gulls as you.

Not true ? quoth he ; howe'er you vapour,  
 I can what I affirm make appear ;  
 Whachum shall justify't to your face, 1005  
 And prove he was upon the place :  
 He play'd the saltinbancho's part,<sup>o</sup>  
 Transform'd t' a Frenchman by my art ;  
 He stole your cloak, and pick'd your pocket,  
 Chous'd and caldes'd you like a blockhead,<sup>1</sup>

his book. In this spurious production, the rencounters of Hudibras at Brentford, the transactions of a mountebank whom he met with, and probably these adventures of the may-pole at Kingston, are described at length. Cervantes, the author of *Don Quixote*, met with the like treatment [from Alphonsus Fernandes de Avellaneda] ; and vindicated himself in the same manner, by making his knight declare that he was no way concerned in those exploits which a new historian had related of him. *May-poles* were held in abomination by the saints of our author's time ; and many writers have expressed their abhorrence of them with great acrimony.

<sup>o</sup> *He play'd the saltinbancho's part,*] Saltimbanque is a French word, signifying a quack or mountebank. Perhaps it was originally Italian.

<sup>1</sup> *He stole your cloak, and pick'd your pocket,*

*Chous'd and caldes'd you like a blockhead,*] *Caldes'd* is a word of the poet's own coining. Mr. Warburton thinks he took the hint from the Chaldeans, who were great fortune-tellers. Others suppose it may be derived from the Gothic, or old Teutonic, a language used by the



And what you lost I can produce,  
If you deny it, here i' the house.

Quoth Hudibras, I do believe  
That argument's demonstrative ;  
Ralpho, bear witness, and go fetch us      1015  
A constable to seize the wretches :  
For tho' they're both false knaves and cheats,<sup>a</sup>  
Impostors, jugglers, counterfeits,  
I'll make them serve for perpendic'lars,  
As true as e'er were us'd by bricklayers :<sup>b</sup>      1020

Picts ; among whom Caldees, or Keldeis, as Spotswood thinks, were the ancient ministers or priests, and so called because they lived in cells. See Camden's account of the Orkney isles. Pinkerton, in his History of the Scots, p. 273, says, " the Caldees united in themselves " the distinctions of monks and of secular clergy, being apparently, " to the eleventh century, the only monks and clergy in Scotland, " and all Irish." But perhaps we ought rather to look for this word in the vocabulary of gipsies and pick-pockets, than either among the Chaldeans, the Scots, or the Irish. The signification of it, in Butler's Remains, is the same with trepanned. Vol. i. 24 :

Asham'd that men so grave and wise  
Should be chaldes'd by gnats and flies.

Mr. Butler's MS. Common-place book has the following lines :

He that with injury is griev'd,  
And goes to law to be reliev'd,  
Is like a silly rabble chouse,  
Who, when a thief had robb'd his house,  
Applies himself to cunning man  
To help him to his goods agen.

<sup>a</sup> *For tho' they're both false knaves and cheats,*] i. e. though they are false by their own confession, I will make them true for another purpose.

<sup>b</sup> *I'll make them serve for perpendic'lars,*

*As true as e'er were us'd by bricklayers :*] i. e. swing them in a line, like a bricklayer's level.

They're guilty, by their own confessions,  
 Of felony, and at the sessions,  
 Upon the bench I will so handle 'em,  
 That the vibration of this pendulum  
 Shall make all tailors yards of one                   1025  
 Unanimous opinion :<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Upon the bench I will so handle 'em,  
 That the vibration of this pendulum  
 Shall make all tailors' yards of one  
 Unanimous opinion :*]

Mr. Butler, in his own note on this passage, says: " the device of the vibration of a pendulum, was intended to settle a certain measure of ells, yards, &c. all the world over, which should have its foundation in nature. For by swinging a weight at the end of a string, and calculating by the motion of the sun or any star, how long the vibration would last, in proportion to the length of the string and weight of the pendulum, they thought to reduce it back again, and from any part of time compute the exact length of any string, that must necessarily vibrate for such a period of time. So that if a man should ask in China for a quarter of an hour of taffeta, they would know perfectly well what he meant: and the measure of things would be reckoned no more by the yard, foot, or inch; but by the hour, quarter, and minute." See his *Remains by Thyer*, vol. i. p. 30:

By which he had composed a pedlar's jargon,  
 For all the world to learn and use to bargain,  
 An universal canting idiom  
 To understand the swinging pendulum,  
 And to communicate in all designs  
 With th' Eastern virtuoso mandarines.

And Dr. Derham's experiments concerning the vibration of a pendulum, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. iii. No. 440, p. 201. The moderns perhaps will not be more successful in their endeavours to establish an universal standard of weights and measures.

[If the reader wishes to see the use the moderns have made of the Pendulum, he may refer to " An account of Experiments to determine the times of vibration of the Pendulum in different latitudes

A thing he long has vapour'd of,  
But now shall make it out by proof.

Quoth Sidrophel, I do not doubt  
To find friends that will bear me out ;<sup>a</sup> 1030  
Nor have I hazarded my art,  
And neck, so long on the state's part,  
To be expos'd i' th' end to suffer  
By such a braggadocio huffer.

Huffer, quoth Hudibras, this sword 1035  
Shall down thy false throat cram that word ;  
Ralpho, make haste, and call an officer,  
To apprehend this Stygian sophister ;<sup>c</sup>  
Mean while I'll hold 'em at a bay,  
Lest he and Whachum run away. 1040

But Sidrophel, who from the aspect  
Of Hudibras, did now erect  
A figure worse portending far,  
Than that of most malignant star ;

" by Captain Edward Sabine of the Royal Regiment of Artillery,"  
in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1821—to the volume  
for 1823—and to the volume for 1827, page 123, where he perhaps  
will find that at least the Captain is not the man " by the long level  
" of his repeating circle" to

— make all tailors yards of one  
Unanimous opinion.]

<sup>a</sup> *Quoth Sidrophel, I do not doubt*

*To find friends that will bear me out ;*] William Lilly wrote and  
prophesied for the parliament, till he perceived their influence de-  
cline. He then changed sides ; but having declared himself rather  
too soon, he was taken into custody ; and escaped only, as he tells  
us himself, by the interference of friends, and by cancelling the  
offensive leaf in his almanac.

<sup>c</sup> *To apprehend this Stygian sophister ;*] i. e. *hellish sophister.*

Believ'd it now the fittest moment 1045  
 To shun the danger that might come on't,  
 While Hudibras was all alone,  
 And he and Whachum, two to one :  
 This being resolv'd, he spy'd by chance,  
 Behind the door, an iron lance,<sup>7</sup> 1050  
 That many a sturdy limb had gor'd,  
 And legs, and loins, and shoulders bor'd ;  
 He snatch'd it up, and made a pass,  
 To make his way thro' Hudibras.  
 Whachum had got a fire-fork, 1055  
 With which he vow'd to do his work ;  
 But Hudibras was well prepar'd,  
 And stoutly stood upon his guard :  
 He put by Sidrophello's thrust,  
 And in right manfully he rusht, 1060  
 The weapon from his gripe he wrung,  
 And laid him on the earth along.  
 Whachum his sea-coal prong threw by,  
 And basely turn'd his back to fly ;  
 But Hudibras gave him a twitch, 1065  
 As quick as lightning, in the breech,  
 Just in the place where honour's lodg'd,<sup>8</sup>  
 As wise philosophers have judg'd ;

<sup>7</sup> *This being resolv'd, he spy'd by chance,*

*Behind the door, an iron lance,]* A spit for roasting meat.

<sup>8</sup> *Just in the place where honour's lodg'd,]* Mr. Butler, in his speech made at the Rota, says (*Genuine Remains*, vol. i. p. 323) :  
 " Some are of opinion that honour is seated in the rump only,  
 " chiefly at least : for it is observed, that a small kick on that part  
 " does more hurt and wound honour than a cut on the head or face,  
 " or a stab, or a shot of a pistol, on any other part of the body."

Because a kick in that part more  
Hurts honour; than deep wounds before. 1070

Quoth Hudibras, The stars determine  
You are my prisoners, base vermin.  
Could they not tell you so, as well  
As what I came to know, foretell?  
By this, what cheats you are, we find, 1075  
That in your own concerns are blind.<sup>9</sup>

Your lives are now at my dispose,  
To be redeem'd by fine or blows:  
But who his honour would defile,  
To take, or sell, two lives so vile? 1080  
I'll give you quarter; but your pillage,  
The conqu'ring warrior's crop and tillage,  
Which with his sword he reaps and plows,  
That's mine, the law of arms allows.

This said in haste, in haste he fell 1085  
To rummaging of Sidrophel.  
First, he expounded both his pockets,  
And found a watch with rings and lockets,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *By this, what cheats you are, we find,*

*That in your own concerns are blind.*] "Astrologers," says Agrippa,  
"while they gaze on the stars for direction, fall into ditches, wells,  
"and goals." The crafty Tiberius, not content with a promise of  
empire, examined the astrologer concerning his own horoscope, in-  
tending to drown him on the least appearance of falsehood. But  
Thrasyllus was always too cunning for him: he answered the first  
time, "that he perceived himself at that instant to be in imminent  
"danger;" and afterwards, "that he was destined to die just ten years  
"before the emperor himself." Tacit. Ann. vi. 21. Dio lvi. 27.

<sup>1</sup> *First, he expounded both his pockets,*

*And found a watch with rings and lockets,*] To negotiate be-  
tween the robber and the robbed, was certainly the most profitable  
part of the astrologer's business.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND  
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



R Cooper sculp.

WILLIAM TURNER.

*From an Original Picture, in the Collection. Museum, Oxford.*

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Which had been left with him t' erect  
 A figure for, and so detect. 1090  
 A copper-plate, with almanacks  
 Engrav'd upon't, with other knacks<sup>2</sup>  
 Of Booker's, Lilly's, Sarah Jimmers,<sup>3</sup>  
 And blank-schemes to discover nimmers;<sup>4</sup>  
 A moon-dial, with Napier's bones,<sup>5</sup> 1095  
 And sev'ral constellation stones,  
 Engrav'd in planetary hours,  
 That over mortals had strange powers  
 To make them thrive in law or trade,  
 And stab or poison to evade; 1100

<sup>2</sup> — *with other knacks*] That is, marks or signs belonging to the astrologer's art: from the Anglo-Saxon *cnapan*, to know, or understand. *Knack* often signifies a bauble or play-thing: a child's ball is called a *knack*. The Glossarist on Douglas says: "We (the Scots) "use the word *knack* for a witty expression, or action: a "knacky man, that is, a witty, facetious man; which may come "from the Teutonic *schnaike*, *facetia*." The verb to *knack*, in Douglas, signifies to mock.

<sup>3</sup> *Of Booker's, Lilly's, Sarah Jimmers,*] John Booker was born at Manchester, and a great astrologer. Lilly has frequently been mentioned. Sarah Jimmers, called, by Lilly, Sarah Skilhorn, was a great speculatrix.

<sup>4</sup> *And blank-schemes to discover nimmers;*] i. e. thieves: from the A. S. *niman*, rapere, though it generally signifies pick-pockets, private stealers.

<sup>5</sup> *A moon-dial, with Napier's bones,*] Lord Napier of Scotland, was author of an invention for casting up any sums or numbers by little rods, which being made of ivory were called Napier's bones. He first discovered the use of logarithms in trigonometry, and made it public in a work printed at Edinburgh 1614: an instance of ingenuity which should never be mentioned without a tribute of praise. His lordship was one of the early members of the Royal Society before its incorporation, which the poet takes frequent occasions to banter.



In wit or wisdom to improve,  
 And be victorious in love.  
 Whachum had neither cross nor pile,<sup>6</sup>  
 His plunder was not worth the while;  
 All which the conqu'ror did discompt, 1105  
 To pay for curing of his rump.

But Sidrophel, as full of tricks  
 As rota-men of politics,<sup>7</sup>  
 Straight cast about to over-reach  
 Th' unwary conqu'ror with a fetch, 1110  
 And make him glad at least to quit  
 His victory, and fly the pit,  
 Before the secular prince of darkness<sup>8</sup>  
 Arriv'd to seize upon his carcass:  
 And, as a fox with hot pursuit,<sup>9</sup> 1115  
 Chas'd through a warren, cast about

<sup>6</sup> [— *cross nor pile*,] Money frequently bore a cross on one side, and the head of a spear or arrow, pilum, on the other. *Cross* and *pile* were our heads and tails. "This I humbly conceive to be "perfect boy's play; *cross*, I win, and *pile*, you lose." Swift.]

<sup>7</sup> *But Sidrophel, as full of tricks*

*As rota-men of politics*,] Mr. James Harrington, sometime in the service of Charles I. drew up and printed a form of popular government, after the king's death, entitled the Commonwealth of Oceana. He endeavoured likewise to promote his scheme by public discourses, at a nightly club of several curious gentlemen, Henry Nevil, Charles Wolseley, John Wildman, Doctor (afterward sir William) Petty, who met in New Palace-yard, Westminster. Mr. Henry Nevil proposed to the house of commons, that a third part of its members should rote out by ballot every year, and be incapable of re-election for three years to come. This club was called the Rota. Swift, *Contests in Athens and Rome*, ch. v. p. 74. note.

<sup>8</sup> *Before the secular prince of darkness*] The constable who governs and keeps the peace at night.

<sup>9</sup> *And, as a fox with hot pursuit*,] Olaus Magnus has related many

To save his credit, and among  
 Dead vermin on a gallows hung,  
 And while the dogs ran underneath,  
 Escap'd, by counterfeiting death, 1120  
 Not out of cunning, but a train  
 Of atoms justling in his brain,<sup>1</sup>  
 As learn'd philosophers give out ;  
 So Sidrophello cast about,  
 And fell to's wonted trade again, 1125  
 To feign himself in earnest slain :<sup>2</sup>  
 First stretch'd out one leg, then another,  
 And, seeming in his breast to smother

such stories of the fox's cunning: his imitating the barking of a dog; feigning himself dead; ridding himself of fleas, by going gradually into the water with a lock of wool in his mouth, and when the fleas are driven into it, leaving the wool in the water; catching crab-fish with his tail, which the author avers for truth on his own knowledge. *Ol. Mag. Hist.* l. 18.

<sup>1</sup> *Not out of cunning, but a train*

*Of atoms justling in his brain,]* The ancient atomic philosophers, Democritus, Epicurus, &c. held that sense in brutes, and cogitation and volition in men, were produced by impression of corporeal atoms on the brain. Cartesius allowed no sense nor cogitation to brutes. He supposed that sensitive principles were immaterial as well as rational ones, and therefore concluded that brutes could have no sense, unless their sensitive souls were immaterial and immortal substances. Antonius Magnus, another Frenchman, published a book near the author's time, *De carentiâ sensûs et cognitionis in brutis*. But the author perhaps meant to ridicule sir Kenelm Digby, who relates this story of the fox, and maintains that there was no thought nor cunning, but merely a particular disposition of atoms.

<sup>2</sup> *To feign himself in earnest slain :]* The reader may recollect the very humorous circumstances of Falstaff's counterfeited death. Shakspeare, *First Part of Henry IV.* Act v.

A broken sigh, quoth he, Where am I ?  
 Alive, or dead ? or which way came I 1130  
 Thro' so immense a space so soon ?  
 But now I thought myself i' th' moon ;  
 And that a monster with huge whiskers,  
 More formidable than a Switzer's,  
 My body thro' and thro' had drill'd, 1135  
 And Whachum by my side had kill'd,  
 Had cross-examin'd both our hose,<sup>a</sup>  
 And plunder'd all we had to lose ;  
 Look, there he is, I see him now,  
 And feel the place I am run thro' : 1140  
 And there lies Whachum by my side,  
 Stone-dead, and in his own blood dy'd.  
 Oh ! oh ! with that he fetch'd a groan,  
 And fell again into a swoon ;  
 Shut both his eyes, and stopt his breath, 1145  
 And to the life out-acted death,  
 That Hudibras, to all appearing,  
 Believ'd him to be dead as herring.  
 He held it now no longer safe,  
 To tarry the return of Ralph, 1150  
 But rather leave him in the lurch :<sup>d</sup>  
 Thought he, he has abus'd our church,<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Had cross-examin'd both our hose,*] Trunk-hose, with pockets to them.

<sup>d</sup> *But rather leave him in the lurch :*] The different sects of dissenters left each other in the lurch, whenever an opportunity offered of promoting a separate interest.

<sup>e</sup> *Thought he, he has abus'd our church,*] This and the following lines have been produced by some as an argument to prove that the

Refus'd to give himself one firκ,  
 To carry on the public work ;  
 Despis'd our synod-men like dirt, 1155  
 And made their discipline his sport ;  
 Divulg'd the secrets of their classes,  
 And their conventions prov'd high places ;<sup>6</sup>  
 Disparag'd their tithe-pigs, as pagan,  
 And set at nought their cheese and bacon ;  
 Rail'd at their covenant, and jeer'd  
 Their rev'rend parsons, to my beard ;  
 For all which scandals, to be quit  
 At once, this juncture falls out fit.  
 I'll make him henceforth, to beware, 1165  
 And tempt my fury, if he dare :  
 He must, at least, hold up his hand,<sup>7</sup>  
 By twelve freeholders to be scann'd.  
 Who, by their skill in palmistry,<sup>8</sup>  
 Will quickly read his destiny, 1170  
 And make him glad to read his lesson,  
 Or take a turn for't at the session :<sup>9</sup>

poem was enigmatical and figurative ; but it only proves that Hudibras represents the presbyterians, and Ralpho the independents.

<sup>6</sup> *And their conventions prov'd high places ;*] That is, corruptions in discipline—rank popery and idolatry.

<sup>7</sup> *He must, at least, hold up his hand,*] Culprits, when they are tried, hold up their hands at the bar.

<sup>8</sup> *Who, by their skill in palmistry,*] From palma. Alluding to the method of telling fortunes by inspection of lines in the palm of the hand.

<sup>9</sup> *And make him glad to read his lesson,*

*Or take a turn for't at the session :*] That is, claim the benefit of

Unless his light and gifts prove truer  
 Than ever yet they did, I'm sure ;  
 For if he 'scape with whipping now, 1175  
 'Tis more than he can hope to do :

clergy, or be hanged. Tom Nash,\* a writer of *farces*—[there are but three dramatic works of his, *Dido* a tragedy, and two comedies]—in queen Elizabeth's reign, who died before the year 1606, is supposed by Dr. Farmer to satirize Shakspeare for want of learning, in the following words : " I leave," saith he, " all these to the mercy

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\* This Tom Nash should not be confounded with Thomas Nash, barrister, of the Inner Temple, who is buried in that church, and has the following inscription :

Depositum Thomæ Nash generosi honesta orti familia in agro Vigorniensis viri charitate humillitate eximii et mire mansueti Græce Latine Gallice et Italice apprime docti plurium (quos scripsit transtulit elucidavit edidit) librorum authoris jure amplectandi interioris templi annos circiter 30 repagularis non solidi minus quam synceri

Tho. Nash obiit 25°. Augusti 1648.

I have never seen any of his works, but am informed that the *School of Potentates*, translated from the Latin, with observations, in octavo 1648, was his, and that he probably wrote the four-fold discourse in quarto 1632. He was a zealous royalist, contrary to the sentiments of his two brothers ; the eldest a country gentleman in Worcestershire, of considerable estate, from whom the editor is descended, was very active in supporting the parliament cause, and the government by Cromwell. The younger brother commanded a troop of horse in the parliament service, was member of parliament for the city of Worcester, and an active justice of peace under the Protector : the family quarrel on political accounts, and which was carried on with the greatest animosity, and most earnest desire to ruin each other, together with the decline of the king's affairs, and particularly the execution of his person, so affected the spirits of Mr. Thomas Nash, that he determined not long to survive it. The editor hopes the reader will excuse this periautology and account of his great grand-father, and his two younger brothers :—he at this day feels the effects of their family quarrels and party zeal.

And that will disengage my conscience  
 Of th' obligation, in his own sense :  
 I'll make him now by force abide,  
 What he by gentle means deny'd, 1180  
 To give my honour satisfaction.  
 And right the brethren in the action.  
 This being resolv'd, with equal speed,  
 And conduct, he approach'd his steed,  
 And with activity unwont, 1185  
 Essay'd the lofty beast to mount ;

" of their mother-tongue, that feed on nought but the crumbs that  
 " fall from the translator's trencher, that could scarcely latinize *their*  
 " *neck verse*, if they should have neede." Dr. Lodge calls Nash our  
 true English Aretine : and John Taylor, the water poet, makes an  
 oath by " sweete satyriche Nash his urne : " his works, in three  
 volumes quarto, were printed 1600, and purchased for the Royal  
 Library, at an auction in Whitehall, about the year 1785, for thirty  
 pounds.

[In the sale of Dr. Wright's Library in 1787, a collection (not an  
*edition*) of his works, consisting of twenty-one pieces of various  
 dates, was sold for £12..15. see Dibdin's Bibliomania, p. 534 ; but  
 if it was bought for the King's Library there must be some error in  
 the Sale Catalogue in attributing all the Tracts to Nash, as there are  
 but ten under his name in the Catalogue of the Royal Library.

As Dr. Nash has here indulged a natural vanity upon a subject  
 more interesting to himself than to the reader of Hudibras, a some-  
 what similar indulgence, in this edition, may perhaps be pardoned  
 when the incidental mention of the Royal Library occasions it.  
 This truly regal library is now deposited in the British Museum. It  
 was, *ab initio*, formed under the personal direction of His late Majesty  
 George the third, by sir Frederick Barnard, his librarian, and  
 Mr. George Nicol, his bookseller, and remains an honourable proof  
 of the king's liberal pursuit and love of knowledge, and of the skill-  
 ful industry of the men he so judiciously employed in its collection.]

Which once atchiev'd, he spurr'd his palfry,  
To get from th' enemy and Ralph free;  
Left danger, fears, and foes behind,  
And beat, at least three lengths, the wind.<sup>1</sup> 1190

<sup>1</sup> *And beat, at least three lengths, the wind.]*

—— volucremque fuga prævertitur Eurum.

—— agente nimbo  
Ocyor Euro.

AN HEROICAL EPISTLE  
OF  
HUDIBRAS TO SIDROPHEL.<sup>1</sup>

*Ecce iterum Crispinus.*

WELL, Sidrophel, tho' 'tis in vain  
To tamper with your crazy brain,  
Without trepanning of your skull,<sup>2</sup>  
As often as the moon's at full,

<sup>1</sup> This Epistle was not published till many years after the preceding canto, and has no relation to the character there described. Sidrophel, in the poem, is a knavish fortune-teller, whose ignorance is compensated by a large share of cunning. In the Epistle he is ignorant indeed, but the defect is made up by conceitedness, assurance, and a solemn exterior. It should seem that Mr. Butler had received an affront or injury from some person of moderate abilities, who had obtained notwithstanding a respectable situation, and stood high in the opinion of the world: and that he addressed the offending party by the title of Sidrophel, because he had already applied this name to a vain pretender to science, and had already made it contemptible. The style is serious, the remarks are pointed and severe; and the author does not hold up the character here in his usual way, as an object of ridicule, but gravely upbraids the man as a credulous assuming liar, in a manner that more resembles the acrimony of Juvenal, than the delicacy of Horace. I could wish that this Epistle had been consigned to oblivion, or else published in some other part of his works. But it has appeared so long in this place, that I have not thought myself at liberty to reject it.

<sup>2</sup> *Without trepanning of your skull,*] A chirurgical operation to



'Tis not amiss, ere ye 're giv'n o'er, 5  
 To try one desp'rate med'cine more ;  
 For where your case can be no worse,  
 The desp'rat'st is the the wisest course.  
 Is't possible that you, whose ears  
 Are of the tribe of Issachar's,<sup>3</sup> 10  
 And might, with equal reason, either  
 For merit, or extent of leather,  
 With William Pryn's, before they were  
 Retrench'd, and crucify'd, compare,  
 Shou'd yet be deaf against a noise 15  
 So roaring as the public voice ?  
 That speaks your virtues free and loud,  
 And openly in ev'ry crowd,  
 As loud as one that sings his part  
 T<sup>n</sup> a wheel-barrow, or turnip-cart, 20  
 Or your new nick-nam'd old invention  
 To cry green-hastings with an engine ;<sup>4</sup>

remove part of the skull when it presses upon the brain. It is said to have restored the understanding, and was proposed as a remedy for the disorder with which Dean Swift was afflicted.

<sup>3</sup> *Is't possible that you, whose ears*

*Are of the tribe of Issachar's,*] Alluding to Genesis, xlix. 14 :

"Issachar is a strong ass."

<sup>4</sup> *Or your new nick-nam'd old invention,*

*To cry green-hastings with an engine ;*] Green-hastings was a well-known apple formerly, though not mentioned in Phillips's Cider : winter-hastings is a well-known pear. Dust-men and news-carriers in London sound a trumpet or ring a bell, to avoid a continual exertion of the voice. May not this passage point at the improvement of the speaking-trumpet newly invented by sir Samuel Morland ?

[Hastings, from hasty. Peas that come early. See Todd's Johnson, where this passage is quoted. The London crier uses it only for peas.]

As if the vehemence had stunn'd,  
 And torn your drum-heads with the sound ;<sup>5</sup>  
 And 'cause your folly's now no news, 25  
 But overgrown, and out of use,  
 Persuade yourself there's no such matter,<sup>6</sup>  
 But that 'tis vanish'd out of nature ;  
 When folly, as it grows in years,  
 The more extravagant appears ; 30  
 For who but you could be possest  
 With so much ignorance and beast,  
 That neither all men's scorn and hate,  
 Nor being laugh'd and pointed at,  
 Nor bray'd so often in a mortar,<sup>7</sup> 35  
 Can teach you wholesome sense and nurture,

<sup>5</sup> *And torn your drum-heads with the sound ;*] Drum-heads, that is, the drum of your ears.

<sup>6</sup> *Persuade yourself there's no such matter,*] i. e. is it possible that you should *persuade yourself*.

<sup>7</sup> *Nor bray'd so often in a mortar,*

*Can teach you wholesome sense and nurture,*] *Bray'd*, from the Saxon word *bracan*, to pound or grind. " Though thou shouldest " bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his " foolishness depart from him." Prov. xxvii. 22. Anarchus was pounded in a mortar by order of Nicocreon, tyrant of Cyprus :

Aut ut Anaxarchus pilâ minuaris in altâ  
 Jactaque pro solitis frugibus ossa sonent.

Ovid. in Ibin. 571.

Some of the primitive martyrs were ground in mills ; as Victor of Marseilles under Maximian. " Martyrem toto mox corpore rotatu " celeri conterendum pistoriæ moli supponunt : Tunc electum Dei " frumentum sine miseratione conteritur." Passio Victoris Massiliensis, apud Colomesii opera, p. 729. St. Ignatius, perhaps, alludes to this species of punishment in his Epistles to the Romans, ch. iv : *εἰς τὴν ἐλμὴ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δι' ὁδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθουμαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄνθρωπος εὑρεθῶ*

But, like a reprobate, what course  
 Soever us'd, grow worse and worse?  
 Can no transfusion of the blood,  
 That makes fools cattle, do you good?<sup>a</sup> 40  
 Nor putting pigs to a bitch to nurse,  
 To turn them into mongrel curs;<sup>b</sup>

τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Again, ἀλησμοὶ ὄλου τοῦ σώματος. *ibid.* And I have little doubt but the words *Ἀρταμων αλησμοι*, in Eunapius's *Life of Maximus*, p. 83, Genev. ed. which have given the critics so much trouble, relate to a similar act of cruelty.

*Nurture* here means breeding, or good manners. Thus Chancer in his *Reves Tale*, line 3965 :

What for hire kinrede, and hire nortelrie,  
 That she had lerned in the nonnerie.

<sup>a</sup> *Can no transfusion of the blood,*

*That makes fools cattle, do you good ?*] In the last century several persons thought it worth their while to transfuse the blood of one living creature into the veins of another ; and, if we may believe their account, the operation had good effects. It has even been performed on human subjects. Dr. Mackenzie has described the process in his *History of Health*, p. 431. He seems to think that the transfusion of blood had not a fair trial, and that the experiments might have been pushed farther. Dr. Lower and others countenanced this practice. Sir Edmund King, a favourite of Charles II. was among the philosophers of his time, who made the famous experiment of transfusing the blood of one animal into another. See *Phil. Trans.* abr. iii. 224, and the additions and corrections to Pennant's *London*. His picture is in the College of Physicians. Shadwell ridicules this practice in his *Virtuoso*, where sir Nicholas Gimcrack relates some experiments of this transfusion and their effects. The lines from v. 39 to 59 allude to various projects of the first establishers of the Royal Society. See Birch's history of that body, vol. i. 303, vol. ii. 48, 50, 54, 115, 117, 123, 125, 161, 312. See also Ward's *Gresham Professors*, p. 101, 273. *That makes fools cattle*, i. e. more valuable at least than they were before ; or perhaps makes them greater fools than they were before.

<sup>b</sup> *Nor putting pigs to a bitch to nurse,*

*To turn them into mongrel curs ;*] As a note on these lines, a

Put you into a way, at least,  
 To make yourself a better beast ?  
 Can all your critical intrigues, 45  
 Of trying sound from rotten eggs ;<sup>1</sup>  
 Your sev'ral new-found remedies,  
 Of curing wounds and scabs in trees :  
 Your arts of fluxing them for claps,  
 And purging their infected saps ; 50  
 Recovering shankers, crystallines,  
 And nodes and blotches in their reins,  
 Have no effect to operate  
 Upon that duller block, your pate ?  
 But still it must be lewdly bent 55  
 To tempt your own due punishment ;  
 And, like your whimsy'd chariots,<sup>2</sup> draw  
 The boys to course you without law ;<sup>3</sup>

curious story is told from Giraldus Cambrensis, of a sow that was suckled by a bitch, and acquired the sagacity of an hound or spaniel. See Butler's Remains, vol. i. p. 12.

<sup>1</sup> *Can all your critical intrigues,*

*Of trying sound from rotten eggs ;*] On the first establishment of the Royal Society, some of the members engaged in the investigation of these and similar subjects. The Society was incorporated July 15, 1662.

<sup>2</sup> *And, like your whimsy'd chariots,—*] I know not the scheme proposed by the Society, perhaps the chariot to go with legs instead of wheels, as mentioned before ; or perhaps they might hope to introduce the famous chariot of Stevinus, which was moved by sails, and carried twenty-eight passengers, among whom were prince Maurice, Buzanval, and Grotius, over the sands of Scheveling, fourteen Dutch miles in two hours, as Grotius himself affirms.

<sup>3</sup> *The boys to course you without law ;*] That is, to follow you close at the heels : to give law among sportsmen is to let the creature

As if the art you have so long  
 Profess'd, of making old dogs young,<sup>4</sup> 60  
 In you had virtue to renew  
 Not only youth, but childhood too :  
 Can you, that understand all books,  
 By judging only with your looks,  
 Resolve all problems with your face, 65  
 As others do with B's and A's ;  
 Unriddle all that mankind knows  
 With solid bending of your brows ?  
 All arts and sciences advance,  
 With screwing of your countenance, 70  
 And with a penetrating eye,  
 Into th' abstrusest learning pry ;  
 Know more of any trade b' a hint,  
 Than those that have been bred up in't,<sup>4</sup>

that is to be hunted run a considerable way before the dogs are suffered to pursue.—See Remains.

<sup>4</sup> *As if the art you have so long*

*Profess'd, of making old dogs young,*] See Butler's *Genuine Remains*, vol. ii. p. 188. His want of judgment inclines him naturally to the most extravagant undertakings, like that of "making old dogs young ; stopping up of words in bottles," &c.

<sup>4</sup> *Know more of any trade b' a hint,*

*Than those that have been bred up in't,*] Printing was invented by a soldier, gunpowder by a monk, and several branches of the clothing trade by a bishop : this is said agreeably to the vulgar notion concerning bishop Blaze, the patron saint of the wool-combers. But he obtained that honour, not on account of any improvements he made in the trade, but because he suffered martyrdom by having his flesh torn by carding irons. See the *Martyrology* for the third of February.

And yet have no art, true or false, 75  
 To help your own bad naturals?  
 But still the more you strive t' appear,  
 Are found to be the wretcheder :  
 For fools are known by looking wise,  
 As men find woodcocks by their eyes. 80  
 Hence 'tis because ye 've gain'd o' th' college<sup>a</sup>  
 A quarter share, at most, of knowledge,  
 And brought in none, but spent repute,  
 Y' assume a pow'r as absolute  
 To judge, and censure, and controll, 85  
 As if you were the sole sir Poll,  
 And saucily pretend to know  
 More than your dividend comes to :  
 You'll find the thing will not be done  
 With ignorance and face alone : 90  
 No, tho' ye 've purchas'd to your name,  
 In history, so great a fame ;<sup>7</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Hence 'tis because ye 've gain'd o' th' college*] Though the Royal Society removed from Gresham college on account of the fire of London, it returned there again 1674, being the year in which this Epistle was published.

<sup>7</sup> *No, tho' ye 've purchas'd to your name,*

*In history, so great a fame ;*] I am inclined to think that the character of Sidrophel, in this Epistle, was designed rather for sir Paul Neile than for Lilly, or perhaps has some strokes at both of them, notwithstanding Dr. Grey's thinking that "these two lines plainly discover, that Lilly (and not sir Paul Neal) was lashed under the "name of Sidrophel ; for Lilly's fame abroad was indisputable." The poet seems to allude to sir Paul in the eighty-sixth line, as he had before done to sir Samuel Luke. Sir Paul had offended Mr. Butler, by saying that he was not the author of Hudibras : or perhaps sir Poll here might allude to sir Politick Would-be, in Ben Jonson's Volpone.

That now your talent's so well-known,  
 For having all belief out-grown,  
 That ev'ry strange prodigious tale 95  
 Is measur'd by your German scale,\*  
 By which the virtuosi try  
 The magnitude of ev'ry lie,  
 Cast up to what it does amount,  
 And place the bigg'st to your account; 100  
 That all those stories that are laid  
 Too truly to you, and those made,  
 Are now still charg'd upon your score,  
 And lesser authors nam'd no more.  
 Alas! that faculty betrays 105  
 Those soonest it designs to raise;

In history, some historians as well as travellers have been famous for telling wonderful lies or stories: or perhaps a glance might be here intended at Sprat's History of the Royal Society. Mr. Thyer, in Butler's Remains, says "he can assure the reader, upon the poet's own authority, that the character of Sidrophel was intended for a picture of sir Paul Neile, who was son of Richard Neile, (whose father was a chandler in Westminster) who, as Anthony Wood says, went through all degrees and orders in the church, school-master, curate, vicar, &c. &c. and at last was archbishop of York." Sir Paul was one of the first establishers of the Royal Society; which society, in the dawn of science, listening to many things that appeared trifling and incredible to the generality of the people, became the butt and sport of the wits of the times. Browne Willis, in his Survey of York Cathedral, says, that archbishop Neile left his son sir Paul Neile executor, whom, though he left rich (as he did his wife 300*l.* a year for her life), yet he soon run it out, without affording his father a grave-stone.

\* *That ev'ry strange prodigious tale*

*Is measur'd by your German scale;*] All incredible stories are now measured by your standard. One German mile is equal to four miles English or Italian.

And all your vain renown will spoil,  
 As guns o'ercharg'd the more recoil ;  
 Though he that has but impudence,  
 To all things has a fair pretence ; 110  
 And put among his wants but shame,  
 To all the world may lay his claim :  
 Tho' you have tried that nothing's borne  
 With greater ease than public scorn,  
 That all affronts do still give place 115  
 To your impenetrable face ;  
 That makes your way thro' all affairs,  
 As pigs thro' hedges creep with theirs :  
 Yet as 'tis counterfeit and brass,  
 You must not think 'twill always pass ; 120  
 For all impostors, when they're known,  
 Are past their labour, and undone :  
 And all the best that can befall  
 An artificial natural,  
 Is that which madmen find, as soon 125  
 As once they're broke loose from the moon,  
 And proof against her influence,  
 Relapse to e'er so little sense,  
 To turn stark fools, and subjects fit  
 For sport of boys, and rabble-wit. 130



1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered.

2. The second step is to gather relevant information and data to address the problem.

3. The third step is to analyze the information and data to identify patterns and trends.

4. The fourth step is to develop a hypothesis or a proposed solution based on the analysis.

5. The fifth step is to test the hypothesis or solution through experimentation or observation.

6. The sixth step is to evaluate the results of the test and determine if the hypothesis is supported.

7. The seventh step is to draw conclusions based on the evaluation of the results.

8. The eighth step is to communicate the findings of the study to the relevant audience.

9. The ninth step is to reflect on the process and identify areas for improvement.

10. The tenth step is to apply the knowledge gained from the study to other situations.

**PART III. CANTO I.**

### THE ARGUMENT.

The Knight and Squire resolve at once,  
The one the other to renounce ;  
They both approach the Lady's bower,  
The Squire t' inform, the Knight to woo her.  
She treats them with a masquerade,  
By furies and hobgoblins made ;  
From which the Squire conveys the Knight,  
And steals him from himself by night.

# HUDIBRAS.

## CANTO I.

'Tis true, no lover has that pow'r  
T' enforce a desperate amour,  
As he that has two strings to's bow,  
And burns for love and money too ;  
For then he's brave and resolute, 5  
Disdains to render in his suit ;<sup>1</sup>  
Has all his flames and raptures double,  
And hangs or drowns with half the trouble ;  
While those who sillily pursue  
The simple downright way, and true, 10  
Make as unlucky applications,  
And steer against the stream their passions.  
Some forge their mistresses of stars,  
And when the ladies prove averse,  
And more untoward to be won 15  
Than by Caligula the moon,<sup>2</sup>  
Cry out upon the stars for doing  
Ill offices, to cross their wooing,

<sup>1</sup> *Disdains to render in his suit ;*] That is, surrender, or give up :  
from the French.

<sup>2</sup> *And more untoward to be won*

*Than by Caligula the moon,*] This was one of the extravagant  
follies of Caligula: " Caius noctibus quidem plenam fulgentemque  
" lunam invitabat assidue in amplexus, atque concubitum." Suetonius,  
in vita C. Calig. sect. 22.

When only by themselves they're hindred,  
 For trusting those they made her kindred,\* 20  
 And still the harsher and hide-bounder,  
 The damsels prove, become the fonder ;  
 For what mad lover ever dy'd  
 To gain a soft and gentle bride ?  
 Or for a lady tender-hearted, 25  
 In purling streams or hemp departed ?  
 Leap'd headlong int' Elysium,  
 Thro' th' windows of a dazzling room ?<sup>†</sup>  
 But for some cross ill-natur'd dame,  
 The am'rous fly burnt in his flame. 30  
 This to the Knight could be no news,  
 With all mankind so much in use ;  
 Who therefore took the wiser course,  
 To make the most of his amours,

\* *When only by themselves they're hindred,*

*For trusting those they made her kindred,*] The meaning is, that when men have flattered their mistresses extravagantly, and declared them to be possessed of accomplishments more than human ; they must not be surprised if they are treated in return with that distant reserve, which beings of a superior order may rightly exercise toward inferior dependent creatures : nor have they room for complaint, since the injury which they sustain is an effect of their own indiscretion.

<sup>†</sup> *Leap'd headlong int' Elysium,*

*Thro' th' windows of a dazzling room ?*] Drowned themselves. Objects reflected by water appear nearly the same as when they are viewed through a window ; or through the windows of a room so high from the ground that it dazzles one to look down from it. Thus Juvenal, Sat. vi. v. 31. *Altæ caligantesque fenestræ* ; which Holyday translates, dazzling high windows. *Ἠλατ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν ρείχους* *εἰς Ἀΐδην*, Callimachus. Ep. 29. Where *Ἀΐδην* does not mean hell, but the place of departed souls, comprehending both Elysium and Tartarus.

Resolv'd to try all sorts of ways, 35  
As follows in due time and place.

No sooner was the bloody fight  
Between the wizard and the knight,  
With all th' appurtenances over,  
But he relaps'd again t' a lover ; 40

As he was always wont to do,  
When he 'ad discomfited a foe,  
And us'd the only antique philters,  
Deriv'd from old heroic tilters.<sup>a</sup>

But now triumphant and victorious, 45  
He held th' atchievement was too glorious

For such a conqueror to meddle  
With petty constable or beadle ;  
Or fly for refuge to the hostess  
Of th' inns of court and chanc'ry, justice ; 50  
Who might, perhaps, reduce his cause  
To th' ordeal trial of the laws ;<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *And us'd the only antique philters,*

<sup>b</sup> *Deriv'd from old heroic tilters.*] The heroes of romance endeavoured to conciliate the affections of their mistresses by the fame of their illustrious exploits. So was Desdemona won. Shakspeare's Othello, Act i.

"She lov'd me for the dangers I had past."

<sup>c</sup> *Who might, perhaps, reduce his cause*

*To th' ordeal trial of the laws ;*] *Ordeal* comes from the Anglo-Saxon, *opðal*, which also is derived from the Teutonic, and signifies judgment. The methods of trial by fire, water, or combat, were in use till the time of Henry III. and the right of exercising them was annexed to several lordships or manors. At this day, when a culprit is arraigned at the bar, and asked how he will be tried, he is directed to answer, "by God and my country," by the verdict or solemn

Where none escape, but such as branded,  
 With red-hot irons, have past bare-handed ;  
 And if they cannot read one verse 55  
 I' th' psalms, must sing it, and that's worse.<sup>7</sup>  
 He, therefore, judging it below him,  
 To tempt a shame the dev'l might owe him,  
 Resolv'd to leave the Squire for bail  
 And mainprize for him, to the jail, 60  
 To answer, with his vessel, all<sup>a</sup>  
 That might disastrously befall.  
 He thought it now the fittest juncture  
 To give the lady a rencounter ;  
 T' acquaint her with his expedition, 65  
 And conquest o'er the fierce magician ;  
 Describe the manner of the fray,  
 And shew the spoils he brought away ;  
 His bloody scourging aggravate,  
 The number of the blows and weight : 70  
 All which might probably succeed,  
 And gain belief he 'ad done the deed :

opinion of a jury. "By God" only, would formerly have meant the ordeal, which referred the case immediately to the divine judgment.

<sup>7</sup> *And if they cannot read one verse*

*I' th' Psalms, must sing it, and that's worse.*] When persons claimed the benefit of clergy, they were required to read a verse in the Bible, generally in the Psalms. It was usual too for the clergyman who attended an execution, to give out a psalm to be sung. So that the common people said, if they could not read their neck verse at sessions, they must sing it at the gallows.

<sup>a</sup> *To answer, with his vessel, all*] In this term the saints unwittingly concurred with the grave old philosophers, who termed the body σκεῦος.

Which he resolv'd t' enforce, and spare  
 No pawning of his soul to swear ;  
 But, rather than produce his back, 75  
 To set his conscience on the rack ;  
 And, in pursuance of his urging  
 Of articles perform'd, and scourging,  
 And all things else, upon his part,  
 Demand delivery of her heart, 80  
 Her goods and chattels, and good graces,  
 And person, up to his embraces.  
 Thought he, the ancient errant knights  
 Won all their ladies' hearts in fights,  
 And cut whole giants into fitters,\* 85  
 To put them into am'rous twitters ;  
 Whose stubborn bowels scorn'd to yield,  
 Until their gallants were half kill'd ;  
 But when their bones were drubb'd so sore,  
 They durst not woo one combat more, 90  
 The ladies' hearts began to melt,  
 Subdu'd by blows their lovers felt.  
 So Spanish heroes, with their lances,  
 At once wound bulls and ladies' fancies ;<sup>1</sup>

\* *And cut whole giants into fitters,*] Some editions read *fritters* ; but the corrected one of 1678 has *fitters*, a phrase often used by romance writers, very frequently by the author of the *Romant of Romants*. Our author joins with Cervantes in burlesquing the subjects and style of romances. [*Fitters*, small fragments, from *fetta*, Ital. *fetzen*, Germ.]

They look and see the stones, the words, and letters,  
 All cut and mangled, in a thousand *fitters*.

Harrington's *Ariosto*, xxiv. 40.]

<sup>1</sup> *So Spanish heroes, with their lances,*  
*At once wound bulls and ladies' fancies ;*] The bull-feasts at



And he acquires the noblest spouse 95  
 That widows greatest herds of cows ;  
 Then what may I expect to do,  
 Who 've quell'd so vast a buffalo ?  
 Meanwhile the Squire was on his way,  
 The Knight's late orders to obey ; 100  
 Who sent him for a strong detachment  
 Of beadles, constables, and watchmen,  
 T' attack the cunning man for plunder  
 Committed falsely on his lumber ;  
 When he, who had so lately sack'd 105  
 The enemy, had done the fact,  
 Had rifled all his pokes and fobs  
 Of gimcracks, whims, and jiggumbobs,  
 Which he by hook or crook had gather'd,  
 And for his own inventions father'd : 110  
 And when they should, at jail-delivery,  
 Unriddle one another's thievery,  
 Both might have evidence enough  
 To render neither halter-proof.<sup>2</sup>  
 He thought it desperate to tarry, 115  
 And venture to be accessory ;  
 But rather wisely slip his fetters,  
 And leave them for the Knight, his betters.

Madrid have been frequently described. The ladies take a zealous part at these combats.

<sup>2</sup> *Both might have evidence enough*

*To render neither halter-proof.*] The mutual accusations of the knight and Sidrophel, if established, might hang both of them. *Halter-proof* is to be in no danger from an halter, as musket-proof in no danger from a musket: to render neither halter-proof is to render both in danger of being hanged.

He call'd to mind th' unjust foul play  
 He would have offer'd him that day, 120  
 To make him curry his own hide,  
 Which no beast ever did beside,  
 Without all possible evasion,  
 But of the riding dispensation :<sup>a</sup>  
 And therefore, much about the hour 125  
 The Knight, for reasons told before,  
 Resolv'd to leave him to the fury  
 Of justice, and an unpack'd jury,  
 The Squire concurr'd to abandon him,  
 And serve him in the self-same trim ;<sup>4</sup> 130  
 T' acquaint the Lady what h' had done,  
 And what he meant to carry on ;  
 What project 't was he went about,  
 When Sidrophel and he fell out ;

<sup>a</sup> *Without all possible evasion,*

*But of the riding dispensation :*] Ralpho considers that he should not have escaped the whipping intended for him by the knight, if their dispute had not been interrupted by the riding-shew, or skimmington.

<sup>4</sup> *The squire concurr'd to abandon him,*

*And serve him in the self-same trim ;*] The author has long had an eye to the selfishness and treachery of the leading parties, the presbyterians and independents. A few lines below he speaks more plainly : In which both dealt as if they meant

Their party saints to represent,  
 Who never fail'd, upon their sharing  
 In any prosperous arms-bearing,  
 To lay themselves out to supplant  
 Each other cousin-german saint.

The reader will remember that Hudibras represents the presbyterians, and Ralpho the independents : this scene therefore alludes to the manner in which the latter supplanted the former in the civil war.

His firm and stedfast resolution, 135  
 To swear her to an execution ; <sup>5</sup>  
 To pawn his inward ears to marry her,<sup>6</sup>  
 And bribe the devil himself to carry her.  
 In which both dealt, as if they meant  
 Their party saints to represent, 140  
 Who never fail'd, upon their sharing  
 In any prosperous arms-bearing,  
 To lay themselves out to supplant  
 Each other cousin-german saint.  
 But ere the Knight could do his part, 145  
 The Squire had got so much the start,  
 He 'ad to the lady done his errand,  
 And told her all his tricks aforehand.  
 Just as he finish'd his report,  
 The Knight alighted in the court, 150  
 And having ty'd his beast t' a pale,  
 And taking time for both to stale,  
 He put his band and beard in order,  
 The sprucer to accost and board her : <sup>7</sup>  
 And now began t' approach the door, 155  
 When she, wh' had spy'd him out before,

<sup>5</sup> *His firm and stedfast resolution,*

*To swear her to an execution ;* ] To swear he had undergone the stipulated whipping, and then demand the performance of her part of the bargain.

<sup>6</sup> *To pawn his inward ears to marry her.* ] His honour and conscience, which might forfeit some of their immunities by perjury, as the outward ears do for the same crime in the sentence of the statute law.

<sup>7</sup> *The sprucer to accost and board her ;* ] Thus Polonius :

Away, I do beseech you, both away ;  
 I'll board him presently.—O, give me leave.—  
 How does my good lord Hamlet ?

Convey'd th' informer out of sight,  
 And went to entertain the Knight :  
 With whom encountering, after longees<sup>a</sup>  
 Of humble and submissive congees, 160  
 And all due ceremonies paid,  
 He strok'd his beard, and thus he said :<sup>b</sup>  
     Madam, I do, as is my duty,  
 Honour the shadow of your shoe-tie ;<sup>c</sup>  
 And now am come, to bring your ear 165  
 A present you'll be glad to hear ;  
 At least I hope so : the thing's done,  
 Or may I never see the sun ;  
 For which I humbly now demand  
 Performance at your gentle hand ; 170  
 And that you'd please to do your part,  
 As I have done mine to my smart.

<sup>a</sup> — *after longees*] That is, after darting himself forward, as fencers do when they make a thrust.

<sup>b</sup> *He strok'd his beard, and thus he said :*]

Nec tamen ante adiit, etsi properabat adire,  
 Quam se composuit, quam circumspexit amictus,  
 Et finxit vultum, et meruit formosa videri ;  
 Tunc sic orsa loqui. Ovid. Metam. l. iv. l. 317.

Thus Cleveland, in his poem on the Mixt Assembly, p. 43 :

That Isaac might go stroke his beard, and sit  
 Judge of *εἰς ἄδον* and elegerit.

In sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, lib. iii. p. 349. " And now, being  
 " come within compass of discerning her, he began to frame the  
 " loveliest countenance that he could ; stroking up his legs, setting  
 " up his beard in due order, and standing bolt upright."

<sup>c</sup> [Mr. Todd finds this rhyme used before by Crashaw, in his *Delights of the Muses*, published in 1646 :

I wish her beauty,  
 That owes not all its duty  
 To gaudy tire, or glistening *shoe-ty.*]

With that he shrugg'd his sturdy back,  
 As if he felt his shoulders ake:  
 But she, who well enough knew what, 175  
 Before he spoke, he would be at,  
 Pretended not to apprehend  
 The mystery of what he mean'd,  
 And therefore wish'd him to expound  
 His dark expressions less profound. 180

Madam, quoth he, I come to prove  
 How much I've suffer'd for your love,  
 Which, like your votary, to win,  
 I have not spar'd my tatter'd skin;<sup>1</sup>  
 And, for those meritorious lashes, 185  
 To claim your favour and good graces.

Quoth she, I do remember once<sup>2</sup>  
 I freed you from th' enchanted sconce;<sup>3</sup>  
 And that you promis'd, for that favour,  
 To bind your back to th' good behaviour,<sup>4</sup> 190  
 And for my sake and service, vow'd  
 To lay upon 't a heavy load,  
 And what 't would bear to a scruple prove,  
 As other knights do oft' make love.

<sup>1</sup> *Which, like your votary, to win,*

*I have not spar'd my tatter'd skin;*] Roman catholics used to scourge themselves before the image of a favourite saint.

<sup>2</sup> *Quoth she, I do remember once*] The lady here with affected drollery says *once*, as if the event had happened some time before, though in reality it was only the preceding day.

<sup>3</sup> *I freed you from th' enchanted sconce;*] From the stocks.

<sup>4</sup> *To bind your back to th' good behaviour,*] It should seem a better reading would be, as in the later editions,

To bind your *back to 'ts* good behaviour.

Which, whether you have done or no, 195  
 Concerns yourself, not me, to know ;  
 But if you have, I shall confess,  
 Y' are honester than I could guess.

Quoth he, If you suspect my troth,  
 I cannot prove it but by oath ; 200  
 And, if you make a question on't,  
 Ill pawn my soul that I have don't :  
 And he that makes his soul his surety,  
 I think does give the best security.

Quoth she, Some say the soul's secure 205  
 Against distress and forfeiture ;  
 Is free from action, and exempt  
 From execution and contempt ;  
 And to be summon'd to appear  
 In th' other world's illegal here,\* 210  
 And therefore few make any account,  
 Int' what incumbrances they run't :  
 For most men carry things so even  
 Between this world, and hell, and heaven,°

\* *And to be summon'd to appear*

*In th' other world's illegal here,]* Alluding to the famous story of Peter and John de Carvajal, who, being unjustly condemned for murder, and taken for execution, summoned the king, Ferdinand the Fourth of Spain, to appear before God's tribunal in thirty days. The king laughed at the summons ; but, though he remained apparently in good health on the day before, he died on the thirtieth day. Mariana says, there can be no doubt of the truth of this story.

° *Between this world, and hell, and heaven,]* That is, between this world and the next, or a future state. Men have dealings without any scruple in both at the same time ; that is, they are not so completely good as not to have some concern for this, nor yet so com-

Without the least offence to either, 215  
 They freely deal in all together,  
 And equally abhor to quit  
 This world for both, or both for it :  
 And when they pawn and damn their souls,  
 They are but pris'ners on paroles. 220  
     For that, quoth he, 'tis rational,  
 They may be accountable in all : <sup>7</sup>  
 For when there is that intercourse  
 Between divine and human pow'rs,  
 That all that we determine here 225  
 Commands obedience ev'ry where ;<sup>a</sup>  
 When penalties may be commuted<sup>b</sup>  
 For fines, or ears, and executed,  
 It follows, nothing binds so fast  
 As souls in pawn and mortgage past : 230

pletely wicked as not to have some for the next: they have an equal abhorrence at the thoughts of quitting this world for the next, of forsaking their manner of living on account of their belief of a future state: or quitting the next world for this, that is, of forsaking their belief of a future state on account of their enjoyments of this world.

<sup>7</sup> *For that, quoth he, 'tis rational,*

*They may be accountable in all :*] That is, as to that, it stands to reason that men may be accountable in this world, and in the next.

<sup>a</sup> *That all that we determine here*

*Commands obedience ev'ry where ;*] He seems at no loss for an application of a text in Scripture, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on "earth, shall be bound in heaven."

<sup>b</sup> *When penalties may be commuted*] The knight argues that, since temporal punishments may be mitigated and commuted, the best securities for truth and honesty are those expectations which affect man in his spiritual state.

For oaths are the only tests and scales  
Of right and wrong, and true and false ;  
And there's no other way to try  
The doubts of law and justice by.

Quoth she, What is it you would swear ? 235  
There's no believing till I hear :  
For, 'till they're understood, all tales,  
Like nonsense, are not true nor false.

Quoth he, When I resolv'd t' obey  
What you commanded th' other day, 240  
And to perform my exercise,  
As schools are wont, for your fair eyes ;  
T' avoid all scruples in the case,  
I went to do't upon the place ;  
But as the castle is enchanted 245  
By Sidrophel the witch, and haunted  
With evil spirits, as you know,  
Who took my Squire and me for two,<sup>1</sup>  
Before I'd hardly time to lay  
My weapons by, and disarray, 250  
I heard a formidable noise,  
Loud as the Stentrophonic voice,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *With evil spirits, as you know,*  
*Who took my Squire and me for two,*] For two evil and delinquent  
spirits.

<sup>2</sup> *Loud as the Stentrophonic voice,*] Thus Homer, *Iliad*, v. 785 :

Στέντροι εἰσαμένη μεγάλητορι χαλκεοφώνῃ.

And *Juv. Sat. xiii.* 112 :

Tu miser exclamas, ut Stentora vincere possis.

The speaking trumpet was a little before the publication of this



That roar'd far off, Dispatch and strip,  
 I'm ready with th' infernal whip,  
 That shall divest thy ribs of skin, 255  
 To expiate thy ling'ring sin ;  
 Thou 'ast broke perfidiously thy oath,  
 And not perform'd thy plighted troth,  
 But spar'd thy renegado back,  
 Where thou 'adst so great a prize at stake,<sup>3</sup> 260  
 Which now the fates have order'd me  
 For penance and revenge, to flea,  
 Unless thou presently make haste ;  
 Time is, time was ; and there it ceast.<sup>4</sup>  
 With which, tho' startl'd, I confess, 265  
 Yet th' horror of the thing was less  
 Than the other dismal apprehension  
 Of interruption or prevention ;  
 And therefore, snatching up the rod,  
 I laid upon my back a load, 270  
 Resolv'd to spare no flesh and blood,  
 To make my word and honour good ;  
 Till tir'd, and taking truce at length,  
 For new recruits of breath and strength,  
 I felt the blows still ply'd as fast, 275  
 As if they 'ad been by lovers plac'd,

canto much improved by sir Samuel Morland, one of the first establishers of the Royal Society.

<sup>3</sup> Where *thou 'adst so great a prize at stake,*] The later editions, perhaps with more propriety, read, *when thou 'adst*. But *where* in old authors means *whereas*.

<sup>4</sup> *Time is, time was ; and there it ceast,*] This alludes to the well known story of the brazen head.

In raptures of Platonic lashing,  
 And chaste contemplative bardashing :<sup>5</sup>  
 When facing hastily about,  
 To stand upon my guard and scout,<sup>6</sup> 280  
 I found th' infernal cunning man,  
 And th' under-witch, his Caliban,<sup>7</sup>  
 With scourges, like the furies, arm'd,  
 That on my outward quarters storm'd.  
 In haste I snatch'd my weapon up, 285  
 And gave their hellish rage a stop ;  
 Call'd thrice upon your name,<sup>8</sup> and fell  
 Courageously on Sidrophel,  
 Who now transform'd himself t' a bear,<sup>9</sup>  
 Began to roar aloud, and tear ; 290

<sup>5</sup> *In raptures of Platonic lashing,*

*And chaste contemplative bardashing :*] The epithets chaste and contemplative are used ironically. See *Genuine Remains*, vol. i. 69. and vol. ii. 352. Dr. Bulwer, in his *Artificial Changeling*, p. 209, says, "the Turks call those that are young, and have no beards, "bardasses."

<sup>6</sup> *When facing hastily about,*

*To stand upon my guard and scout,*] Sir Samuel Luke was scout-master.

<sup>7</sup> *And th' under-witch, his Caliban,*] See Shakspeare's *Tempest*.

<sup>8</sup> *Call'd thrice upon your name,*] Bantering the romance writers, whose heroes frequently invoke their mistresses :

— numero deus impare gaudet.

Virg. eclog. viii.

<sup>9</sup> *Who now transform'd himself t' a bear,*

*Began to roar aloud, and tear ;*

*When I as furiously press'd on,*

*My weapon down his throat to run,*

*Laid hold on him ; but he broke loose,*

*And turn'd himself into a goose,*] Thus Ovid. *Metam.* lib. viii.

When I as furiously press'd on,  
 My weapon down his throat to run,  
 Laid hold on him ; but he broke loose,  
 And turn'd himself into a goose,  
 Div'd under water, in a pond, 295  
 To hide himself from being found ;  
 In vain I sought him ; but as soon  
 As I perceiv'd him fled and gone,  
 Prepar'd, with equal haste and rage,  
 His under-sorc'rer to engage ; 300  
 But bravely scorning to defile  
 My sword with feeble blood, and vile,  
 I judg'd it better from a quick-  
 Set-hedge to cut a knotted stick,  
 With which I furiously laid on ; 305  
 Till, in a harsh and doleful tone,  
 It roar'd, O hold, for pity, Sir,  
 I am too great a sufferer,<sup>1</sup>  
 Abus'd as you have been b' a witch,  
 But conjur'd int' a worse caprich,<sup>2</sup> 310

Nam modo te juvenem, modo te videre leonem :  
 Nunc violentus aper, nunc, quem tetigisse timerent,  
 Anguis eras : modo te faciebant cornua taurum.  
 Sæpe lapis poteras, arbor quoque sæpe videri.

*When I as furiously.*—Some editions read, perhaps better :

*When as I furiously —*

<sup>1</sup> *It roar'd, O hold, for pity, Sir,*

*I am too great a sufferer,]* *O, for pity,* is a favourite expression of Spenser. Polydore, in Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 41. says :

*Quid miserum, Ænea, laceras ? jam parce sepulto :*

*Parce pias scelerare manus.*

<sup>2</sup> *But conjur'd int' a worse caprich,]* That is, whim, fancy, from the Italian, *capriccio*.

Who sends me out on many a jaunt,  
 Old houses in the night to haunt,  
 For opportunities t' improve  
 Designs of thievery or love ;  
 With drugs convey'd in drink or meat,      316  
 All feats of witches counterfeit ;  
 Kill pigs and geese with powder'd glass,  
 And make it for enchantment pass ;  
 With cow-itch\* meazle like a leper,  
 And choke with fumes of guinea pepper ;      320  
 Make lechers, and their punks, with dewtry,  
 Commit fantastical advowtry ;<sup>4</sup>

\* *With cow-itch,*] Cowage is a plant from the East Indies, the pod of which is covered with short hairs : if these hairs are applied to the skin, they cause an itching for a short time ; they are often used by young people to tease one another with.

<sup>4</sup> *Make lechers, and their punks, with dewtry,*

*Commit fantastical advowtry ;*] *Dewtry*, or *datura*, is a plant, growing chiefly in the East Indies, whose seeds and flowers have an intoxicating quality. They who are skilled in the management of this drug, can, it is said, proportion the dose of it so as to suppress the senses for any particular number of hours. The Abyssinians likewise have an herb, called by the Caffres, banquini, and by the Portuguese, dutra, which, if taken in meat or drink, produces a stupor, and continues it for the space of twenty-four hours. See Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia, Dissertation on the Eastern Side of Africa, p. 226. Duncan gave wine, and bread steeped in the juice of this herb, (which some suppose to be the stramonium) to Iveno, king of Norway, and by the effect of it preserved the town of Bartha, in Scotland, from his attacks. Buchanan, Hist. Scot. lib. vii. Among the enquiries recommended by sir Robert Moray, and sent by the Royal Society to sir Philiberto Vernatti, resident at Batavia, are the following : " Whether the Indians can so prepare " that stupifying herb *datura*, that they make it lie several days, " months, years, according as they will have it, in a man's body,

Bewitch hermetic men to run  
 Stark staring mad with manicon ;<sup>5</sup>

“ without doing him any hurt, and at the end kill him, without missing half an hour’s time? Whether those that be stupified by the juice of this herb, are recovered by moistening the soles of their feet in fair water?” See Spratt’s History of the Royal Society, p. 161. and 162. “ Henr. Salmuthus Comm. in nova re-  
 “ perta Pancirolli, lib. i. tit. 1. Daturam appellat dutoam ; et ex  
 “ floribus, ait, bulbi quandam speciem oriri, in quo nuclei sunt,  
 “ melonum semini similes, qui cibo potionique permixti utentis cere-  
 “ brum pervadunt, ac stultitiam quandam cum risu continuo, absque  
 “ alio sensu, aut ulla rerum notitia, excitent, tandemque somnum  
 “ inducant. Addit ex Christopheri a Costa lib. de aromat. cap. de  
 “ datura, Indorum Lusitanorumque uxores nucleos eos subinde  
 “ ignaris maritis exhibere, ac deinde, ipsis spectantibus ac ridenti-  
 “ bus, securè adulteris sui copiam facere : ex somno vero excitatos  
 “ nullius rei meminisse, sed sopore tantum levi se correptos fuisse  
 “ sibi imaginari.” Henricus Meibomius de cerevisiis veterum.  
 cap. 23. Meminit Garsias ab horto hist. plant. novi orbis, lib. ii.  
 c. 24. floris et seminis herbæ, quam daturam vocat, colorem roris  
 marini æmulantis. Eum ait potuit ciboque injectum, et assumptum,  
 homines mente quodammodo alienare, et in risum solvere, atque  
 amentes veluti et ebrios facere. Gronov. Antiq. Græc. ix. p. 606.

*Advowtry* signifies the same with adultery. The word is used by lord Bacon, in his Life of Henry VII. “ Maximilian duke of Bur-  
 “ gundy spake all the evil he could devise of Charles the French  
 “ king, saying, that he was the most perfidious man upon earth,  
 “ and that he had made a marriage compounded between an *ad-  
 “ vowtry* and a rape.”

The sense of the passage is, make lewd old fellows, that are past actual, commit, by means of dewtry, imaginary adultery.

<sup>5</sup> *Bewitch hermetic men to run*

*Stark staring mad with manicon ;*] Alchymists, who pretend to things beyond the power of art. See a long character of the hermetic philosopher, full of wit and learning, Butler’s Remains, vol. ii. p. 225. *Manicon* is an herb, so called from its power of causing madness. Banquo, in Shakspeare’s Macbeth, seems to allude to it when he says :

Believe mechanic virtuosi 325  
 Can raise 'em mountains in Potosi;  
 And sillier than the antic fools,  
 Take treasure for a heap of coals;<sup>6</sup>  
 Seek out for plants with signatures,  
 To quack of universal cures;<sup>7</sup> 330

Were such things here, as we do speak about?  
 Or have we eaten of the insane root,  
 That takes the reason prisoner? Act i.

Meibomius de cervisii, xxiii. 10. Est in eodem censu strychnon, sive manicum, sive halicacabum, quæ interdum confundunt auctores. De eo Theophrastus Hist. Plant. ix. 12. ait drachmæ pondere potum efficere *πάζειν τινὰ καὶ δοκεῖν ἑαυτῷ κάλλιστον*. Plinius xxi. ex eo lusum gigni, speciesque vanas imaginesque conspicuas observari, affirmat. Dioscorides iv. 72. ait eadem herba pota *παντασίας ἀπορδαίνουσα ἀνδρείς*.

<sup>6</sup> *Believe mechanic virtuosi*  
*Can raise 'em mountains in Potosi;*  
*And sillier than the antic fools,*

*Take treasure for a heap of coals;*] The poet here ridicules the alchemists for pretending to the power of transmuting metals, or turning baser minerals into gold. In the mountains of Potosi are the rich mines belonging to the king of Spain. The credulous disciples of these philosophers our author calls *antick fools*. Antic, antick, or antique, because the cheat began to be out of fashion when Mr. Butler wrote this part of his book—soon after the Restoration. Or perhaps by *antic fools* he might mean those silly dreamers, among the ancients, who gave occasion to the proverb, “pro thesauro carbones;” they dreamed of gold, but on examination found coals: it is frequently applied by Lucian. And Phædrus v. fab. vi. Ben Jonson uses the word antique in two senses.

The last line is not clearly expressed. If it had been written, “For treasure take an heap of coals,” or “Turn treasure to an heap of coals,” the meaning would have been more obvious.

<sup>7</sup> *Seek out for plants with signatures,*  
*To quack of universal cures;*] Plants whose leaves resemble the

With figures, ground on panes of glass,  
 Make people on their heads to pass ;<sup>a</sup>  
 And mighty heaps of coin increase,  
 Reflected from a single piece ;  
 To draw in fools, whose nat'ral itches        335  
 Incline perpetually to witches,  
 And keep me in continual fears,  
 And danger of my neck and ears ;  
 When less delinquents have been scourg'd,  
 And hemp on wooden anvils forg'd,        340  
 Which others for cravats have worn  
 About their necks, and took a turn.  
     I pity'd the sad punishment  
 The wretched caitiff underwent,  
 And held my drubbing of his bones        345  
 Too great an honour for poltroons ;

form of some or other of the vitals, or have marks or figures upon them representing any cuticular affection, were thought to point out their own medicinal qualities. Thus wood-sorrel was used as a cordial, because its leaf is shaped like an heart. Liverwort was given for disorders of the liver. The herb dragon was employed to counteract the effects of poison, because its stem is speckled like some serpents. The yellow juice of the celandine recommended it for the cure of the jaundice. And Paracelsus said, that the spots which appear on the leaves of the *Persicaria maculosa*, proved its efficacy in the scurvy.

<sup>a</sup> *With figures, ground on panes of glass,*

*Make people on their heads to pass ;*] The multiplying glass, concave mirror, camera obscura, and other inventions, which were new in our author's time, passed with the vulgar for enchantments ; and as the law against witches was then in force, the exhibitors of these curiosities were in some danger of being sentenced to Bridewell, the pillory, or the halter.

For knights are bound to feel no blows  
 From paltry and unequal foes,<sup>o</sup>  
 Who when they slash and cut to pieces,  
 Do all with civillest addresses : 350  
 Their horses never give a blow,  
 But when they make a leg and bow.<sup>1</sup>  
 I therefore spar'd his flesh, and prest him  
 About the witch, with many a question.  
 Quoth he, For many years he drove 355  
 A kind of broking-trade in love,<sup>2</sup>  
 Employ'd in all th' intrigues and trust,  
 Of feeble speculative lust ;  
 Procurer to th' extravagancy,  
 And crazy ribaldry of fancy, 360  
 By those the devil had forsook,  
 As things below him, to provoke ;  
 But b'ing a virtuoso, able  
 To smatter, quack, and cant, and dabble,  
 He held his talent most adroit, 365  
 For any mystical exploit,

<sup>o</sup> *For knights are bound to feel no blows*

*From paltry and unequal foes,]* According to the rules of knight-errantry. See Don Quixote (book iii. ch. i.) and romances in general.

<sup>1</sup> *Their horses never give a blow,*

*But when they make a leg and bow.]* i. e. the courteous knight never strikes his horse, but when he stumbles ; but Mr. T. B. gives it a different sense, and thinks it alludes to the action of a horse when the rider gives it a blow on the head ; ducking the head, and throwing out the leg, being not unlike an awkward bow.

<sup>2</sup> *Quoth he, For many years he drove*

*A kind of broking-trade in love,]* He transacted the business of intrigues ; was a pimp.



As others of his tribe had done,  
 And rais'd their prices three to one ;  
 For one predicting pimp has th' odds  
 Of chaldrons of plain downright bawds. 370  
 But as an elf, the devil's valet,  
 Is not so slight a thing to get,<sup>3</sup>  
 For those that do his bus'ness best,  
 In hell are us'd the ruggedest ;  
 Before so meriting a person 375  
 Cou'd get a grant, but in reversion,  
 He serv'd two 'prenticeships, and longer,  
 I' th' myst'ry of a lady-monger.  
 For, as some write, a witch's ghost,<sup>4</sup>  
 As soon as from the body loos'd, 380  
 Becomes a puisney-imp itself,  
 And is another witch's elf,  
 He, after searching far and near,  
 At length found one in Lancashire,  
 With whom he bargain'd beforehand, 385  
 And, after hanging, entertain'd :  
 Since which he 'as play'd a thousand feats,  
 And practis'd all mechanic cheats :

<sup>3</sup> *But as an elf, the devil's valet,*

*Is not so slight a thing to get,]* William Lilly tells us he was fourteen years before he could get an elf, or ghost of departed witch. At last he found one in Lancashire, a country always famous for witches. Thus Cleveland, p. 76 :

Have you not heard the abominable sport  
 A Lancashire grand jury will report.

<sup>4</sup> *For, as some write, a witch's ghost,]* A better reading would be, *Now, as some write.*

Transform'd himself to th' ugly shapes  
Of wolves and bears, baboons and apes, 390  
Which he has vary'd more than witches,  
Or Pharaoh's wizards cou'd their switches;<sup>a</sup>  
And all with whom he 'as had to do,  
Turn'd to as monstrous figures too ;  
Witness myself, whom he 'as abus'd, 395  
And to this beastly shape reduc'd,  
By feeding me on beans and peas,  
He crams in nasty crevices,  
And turns to comfits by his arts,  
To make me relish for deserts, 400  
And one by one, with shame and fear,  
Lick up the candy'd provender.  
Beside—But as h' was running on,  
To tell what other feats he 'ad done,  
The lady stopt his full career, 405  
And told him, now 'twas time to hear.  
If half those things, said she, be true—  
They're all, quoth he, I swear by you.  
Why then, said she, that Sidrophel  
Has damn'd himself to th' pit of hell, 410  
Who, mounted on a broom, the nag  
And hackney of a Lapland hag,  
In quest of you came hither post,  
Within an hour, I'm sure, at most,  
Who told me all you swear and say, 415  
Quite contrary, another way ;

<sup>a</sup> Or Pharaoh's wizards cou'd their switches ; ] See Exodus vii.

Vow'd that you came to him, to know  
 If you shou'd carry me or no ;  
 And would have hir'd him and his imps,  
 To be your match-makers and pimps, 420  
 T' engage the devil on your side,  
 And steal, like Proserpine, your bride ;  
 But he, disdaining to embrace  
 So filthy a design, and base,  
 You fell to vapouring and huffing, 425  
 And drew upon him like a ruffian ;  
 Surpris'd him meanly, unprepar'd,  
 Before he 'ad time to mount his guard,  
 And left him dead upon the ground,  
 With many a bruise and desperate wound ; 430  
 Swore you had broke and robb'd his house,  
 And stole his talismanique louse,\*  
 And all his new-found old inventions,  
 With flat felonious intentions,  
 Which he could bring out, where he had, 435  
 And what he bought 'em for, and paid ;  
 His flea, his morpion, and punese,  
 He 'ad gotten for his proper ease,†  
 And all in perfect minutes made,  
 By th' ablest artists of the trade ; 440

\* *And stole his talismanique louse,*] The poet intimates, that Sidrophel, being much plagued with lice, had made a talisman, or formed a louse in a certain position of the stars, to chase away this kind of vermin.

† *His flea, his morpion, and punese,*

*He 'ad gotten for his proper ease,*] The talisman of a flea, a louse, and a bug.

Which, he could prove it, since he lost,  
 He has been eaten up almost,  
 And altogether, might amount  
 To many hundreds on account ;  
 For which he 'ad got sufficient warrant 445  
 To seize the malefactors errant,  
 Without capacity of bail,  
 But of a cart's or horse's tail ;  
 And did not doubt to bring the wretches  
 To serve for pendulums to watches, 450  
 Which, modern virtuosi say,  
 Incline to hanging every way.<sup>a</sup>  
 Beside, he swore, and swore 'twas true,  
 That ere he went in quest of you,  
 He set a figure to discover 455  
 If you were fled to Rye or Dover ;  
 And found it clear, that to betray  
 Yourselves and me, you fled this way ;  
 And that he was upon pursuit,  
 To take you somewhere hereabout. 460  
 He vow'd he had intelligence  
 Of all that pass'd before and since ;  
 And found, that ere you came to him,  
 Y' had been engaging life and limb  
 About a case of tender conscience, 465  
 Where both abounded in your own sense ;

<sup>a</sup> *And did not doubt to bring the wretches  
 To serve for pendulums to watches,  
 Which, modern virtuosi say,*

*Incline to hanging every way.]* The circular pendulums for  
 watches were invented about our author's time by Dr. Hooke.

Till Ralpho, by his light and grace,  
 Had clear'd all scruples in the case,  
 And prov'd that you might swear, and own  
 Whatever's by the wicked done : 470  
 For which, most basely to requite  
 The service of his gifts and light,  
 You strove t' oblige him, by main force,  
 To scourge his ribs instead of yours ;  
 But that he stood upon his guard, 475  
 And all your vapouring outdar'd ;  
 For which,<sup>o</sup> between you both, the feat  
 Has never been perform'd as yet.

While thus the Lady talk'd, the Knight  
 Turn'd th' outside of his eyes to white ;<sup>1</sup> 480  
 As men of inward light are wont  
 To turn their optics in upon't ;  
 He wonder'd how she came to know  
 What he had done, and meant to do ;  
 Held up his affidavit hand,<sup>2</sup> 485  
 As if he 'ad been to be arraign'd ;

<sup>o</sup> *For which,*] that is, on which account.

<sup>1</sup> *Turn'd th' outside of his eyes to white,*] The dissenters are ridiculed for an affected sanctity, and turning up the whites of their eyes. Thus Ben Jonson :

— he is called for a puritan—

That used to turn up the eggs of his eyes.

And Fenton in his Poems :

Her eyes she disciplin'd precisely right,  
 And when to wink, and how t' turn the white.

<sup>2</sup> *Held up his affidavit hand,*] When any one takes an oath, he puts his right hand to the book, that is, to the New Testament, and

Cast tow'ards the door a ghastly look,  
In dread of Sidrophel, and spoke :

Madam, if but one word be true  
Of all the wizard has told you, 490  
Or but one single circumstance  
In all th' apocryphal romance,  
May dreadful earthquakes swallow down  
This vessel, that is all your own ;<sup>3</sup>  
Or may the heavens fall, and cover 495  
These relics of your constant lover.<sup>4</sup>

You have provided well, quoth she,  
I thank you, for yourself and me,  
And shewn your presbyterian wits  
Jump punctual with the jesuits ; 500  
A most compendious way, and civil,  
At once to cheat the world, the devil,  
With heaven and hell, yourselves, and those  
On whom you vainly think t' impose.

kisses it ; but the covenanters, in swearing, refused to kiss the book, saying it was popish and superstitious : they substituted the ceremony of holding up the right hand, which they used also in taking any oath before the magistrate. The seceders in Scotland, who affect all the preciseness of the old covenanters, I believe still adhere to this practice.

<sup>3</sup> *May dreadful earthquakes swallow down*

*This vessel*, that is all your own ;] The knight has made all needful proficiency in the art of equivocation. This poor devoted vessel is—not the abject suitor, but—the lady herself.

<sup>4</sup> *These relics of your constant lover.*] Here the knight still means the widow, but would have it understood of himself.

Troas, reliquias Danaum atque inimitis Achillei.

Virg. *Æn.* i. 30.

Why then, quoth he, may hell surprise— 505

That trick, said she, will not pass twice :

I've learn'd how far I'm to believe

Your pinning oaths upon your sleeve ;

But there's a better way of clearing

What you would prove, than downright swearing:

For if you have perform'd the feat,

The blows are visible as yet,

Enough to serve for satisfaction

Of nicest scruples in the action ;

And if you can produce those knobs, 515

Altho' they're but the witch's drubs,

I'll pass them all upon account,

As if your nat'ral self had done 't ;

Provided that they pass th' opinion

Of able juries of old women, 520

Who, us'd to judge all matter of facts

For bellies,\* may do so for backs.

Madam, quoth he, your love's a million,

To do is less than to be willing,

As I am, were it in my power, 525

T' obey what you command, and more ;

But for performing what you bid,

I thank you as much as if I did.

\* *Provided that they pass th' opinion*

*Of able juries of old women,*

*Who, us'd to judge all matter of facts*

*For bellies,—*] When a woman pretends to be pregnant, in order to gain a respite from her sentence, the fact must be ascertained by a jury of matrons.

You know I ought to have a care  
 To keep my wounds from taking air ; 530  
 For wounds in those that are all heart,  
 Are dangerous in any part.

I find, quoth she, my goods and chattels  
 Are like to prove but mere drawn battles ;<sup>6</sup>  
 For still the longer we contend, 535  
 We are but farther off the end.  
 But granting now we should agree,  
 What is it you expect from me ?

Your plighted faith, quoth he, and word  
 You pass'd in heaven, on record, 540  
 Where all contracts t' have and t' hold,  
 Are everlastingly enroll'd :  
 And if 'tis counted treason here  
 To raze records, 'tis much more there.

Quoth she, There are no bargains driv'n, 545  
 Nor marriages clapp'd up in heav'n ;<sup>7</sup>  
 And that's the reason, as some guess,  
 There is no heav'n in marriages ;  
 Two things that naturally press <sup>8</sup>  
 Too narrowly, to be at ease : 550

<sup>6</sup> *Are like to prove but mere drawn battles ;* ] That is, no other than matter for mere *undecisive* bickerings.

<sup>7</sup> *Quoth she, There are no bargains driv'n, Nor marriages clapp'd up in heav'n ;* ] The author alludes to Mark xii. 25 : " For when they shall arise from the dead, they neither marry nor are given in marriage."

<sup>8</sup> *Two things that naturally press* ] That is, bargains and marriages.



Their bus'ness there is only love,  
 Which marriage is not like t' improve ;<sup>a</sup>  
 Love, that's too generous t' abide  
 To be against its nature ty'd ;  
 For where 'tis of itself inclin'd, 555  
 It breaks loose when it is confin'd,<sup>1</sup>  
 And like the soul, its harbourer,  
 Debar'd the freedom of the air,  
 Disdains against its will to stay,  
 But struggles out, and flies away : 560  
 And therefore never can comply,  
 T' endure the matrimonial tie,  
 That binds the female and the male,  
 Where th' one is but the other's bail ;<sup>2</sup>

*<sup>a</sup> Their bus'ness there is only love,  
 Which marriage is not like t' improve ;]*

Plurimus in cœlis amor est, connubia nulla :  
 Conjugia in terris plurima, nullus amor.

*<sup>1</sup> Love, that's too generous t' abide  
 To be against it's nature ty'd ;  
 For where 'tis of itself inclin'd,*

*It breaks loose when it is confin'd,]* The widow's notions of love  
 are similar to those of Eloise, so happily expressed by Pope :

Love, free as air, at sight of human ties,  
 Spreads his light wings, and in a moment flies.

So Chaucer, in his Frankeleines Tale :

Love wol not be constrained by maistrie :  
 Whan maistrie cometh, the god of love anon  
 Beteth his winges, and, farewell, he is gon.

Ælius Verus, according to Spartian, used to say, “ Uxor digni-  
 “ tatis nomen est, non voluptatis.”

<sup>2</sup> *Where th' one is but the other's bail ;]* That is, where if one of  
 them is faulty, the other is drawn into difficulties by it, and the

Like Roman gaolers, when they slept, 565  
 Chain'd to the prisoners they kept :<sup>3</sup>  
 Of which the true and faithfull'st lover  
 Gives best security to suffer.  
 Marriage is but a beast, some say,<sup>4</sup>  
 That carries double in foul way, 570  
 And therefore 'tis not to be admir'd,  
 It should so suddenly be tir'd ;  
 A bargain, at a venture made,  
 Between two partners in a trade ;  
 For what's inferr'd by t' have and t' hold, 575  
 But something pass'd away and sold ?<sup>5</sup>  
 That, as it makes but one of two,  
 Reduces all things else as low ;

truest lover gives best security to suffer, or is likely to be the greatest sufferer.

<sup>3</sup> *Like Roman gaolers, when they slept,*

*Chain'd to the prisoners they kept :*] The custom among the Romans was the same as among modern constables, to chain the right hand of the culprit to the left hand of the guard : *Modus est, ut is qui in noxa esset, catenam manui dextræ alligatam haberet, quæ eadem militis sinistram vinciret.*

<sup>4</sup> *Marriage is but a beast, some say,*] Sir Thomas Brown, author of the *Vulgar Errors*, and *Religio Medici*, speaks of the ultimate act of love as a folly beneath a philosopher, and says, that he could be content that we might procreate like trees without conjunction. But, after writing this, he descended from his philosophic dignity, and married an agreeable woman :

The strong, the brave, the virtuous and the wise,

Sink in the soft captivity together. Addison's Cato.

<sup>5</sup> *For what's inferr'd by t' have and t' hold,*

*But something pass'd away and sold ?*] An equivocation. The words "to have and to hold," in the marriage ceremony, signify "I take to possess and keep ;" in deeds of conveyance their meaning is, "I give to be possessed and kept by another."

And at the best is but a mart  
 Between the one and th' other part, 580  
 That on the marriage day is paid,  
 Or hour of death, the bet is laid ; \*  
 And all the rest of better or worse,  
 Both are but losers out of purse :  
 For when upon their ungot heirs 585  
 Th' entail themselves and all that's theirs,  
 What blinder bargain e'er was driven,  
 Or wager laid at six and seven ?  
 To pass themselves away, and turn  
 Their children's tenants ere they're born ? 590  
 Beg one another idiot  
 To guardians, ere they are begot ;  
 Or ever shall, perhaps, by th' one  
 Who's bound to vouch them for his own,

\* *And at the best is but a mart*  
*Between the one and th' other part,*  
*That on the marriage day is paid,*

*Or hour of death, the bet is laid ;* ]—(thus in some editions.) The poet's allusions are sometimes far-fetched and obscure. Perhaps he means, that each party expects to find a satisfaction in marriage ; and if they are a little disappointed when they come together, they will not fail to meet with it when they are separated. *Mart*, is marketing, or matter of purchase between the parties, who are only reimbursed the venture made, on the marriage day, or hour of death ; and as to any thing else in marriage both parties are losers, for they settle and give away their estates to ungot heirs ; consigning themselves, like ideots and lunatics, to guardians and trustees. Mr. Butler generally pursues his subject as far as he can with propriety. But I do not know that we can justify the transition, in this speech, from a lively vindication of the generous nature of love, to a long detail of the abuses and evils of matrimony. He might wish for an opportunity of satirizing the vices of the times. Beside, we

Tho' got b' implicit generation,<sup>7</sup> 595  
 And general club of all the nation ;  
 For which she's fortify'd no less  
 Than all the island with four seas ;<sup>8</sup>  
 Exacts the tribute of her dower,  
 In ready insolence and power, 600  
 And makes him pass away, to have  
 And hold to her, himself, her slave,  
 More wretched than an ancient villain,<sup>9</sup>  
 Condemn'd to drudgery and tilling ;  
 While all he does upon the by, 605  
 She is not bound to justify,  
 Nor at her proper cost or charge  
 Maintain the feats he does at large.  
 Such hideous sots were those obedient  
 Old vassals to their ladies regent, 610

learn, that he had suffered some inconveniences himself from an unfortunate marriage.

<sup>7</sup> *Tho' got b' implicit generation,*] Dr. Johnson says, *implicit* signifies mixt, complicated, intricate, perplexed.

<sup>8</sup> *For which she's fortify'd no less*

*Than all the island with four seas ;*] The interpretation of the law was, that a child could not be deemed a bastard, if the husband had remained in the island, or within the four seas. See Butler's *Remains*, vol. i. p. 122.

<sup>9</sup> *More wretched than an ancient villain,*] The villains were a sort of slaves, bound to perform the meanest and most laborious offices. They were appendages to the land, and passed with it to any purchaser: as the lord was not answerable for any thing done by his villain tenant, no more is the wife for any thing done by her villain husband, though he is bound to justify and maintain all that his wife does by the bye. For which so many an injured husband has submitted to have his character run down in the courts, and suffer himself to be proved a cuckold on record, that he might recover damages from the adulterer.

To give the cheats the eldest hand  
 In foul play, by the laws o' th' land,  
 For which so many a legal cuckold  
 Has been run down in courts, and truckl'd :  
 A law that most unjustly yokes 615  
 All Johns of Stiles to Joans of Nokes,<sup>1</sup>  
 Without distinction of degree,  
 Condition, age, or quality ;  
 Admits no pow'r of revocation,  
 Nor valuable consideration, 620  
 Nor writ of error, nor reverse  
 Of judgment past, for better or worse ;  
 Will not allow the privileges  
 That beggars challenge under hedges,  
 Who, when they're griev'd, can make dead horses  
 Their spiritual judges of divorces ;<sup>2</sup>  
 While nothing else but rem in re,  
 Can set the proudest wretches free ;  
 A slavery beyond enduring,  
 But that 'tis of their own procuring.<sup>3</sup> 630

<sup>1</sup> *All Johns of Stiles to Joans of Nokes,*] The poet makes the latter a female: they are names given in law proceedings to indefinite persons, like Caius and Titius in the civil law.

<sup>2</sup> *Will not allow the privileges  
 That beggars challenge under hedges,  
 Who, when they're griev'd, can make dead horses  
 Their spiritual judges of divorces ;*] The gipsies, it is said, are satisfied of the validity of such decisions.

<sup>3</sup> *A slavery beyond enduring,  
 But that 'tis of their own procuring.*] Because the statutes are framed by men :

Ζευχθεῖς γάμοισιν οὐκ ἐλεύθερός γ' ἔσθ.  
 Νόμιζε γήμας δοῦλος εἶναι τῷ ἔλφ.

Brunck. Poet. Gn. 224.

As spiders never seek the fly,  
 But leave him, of himself, t' apply ;  
 So men are by themselves betray'd,  
 To quit the freedom they enjoy'd,  
 And run their necks into a noose, 635  
 They'd break 'em after to break loose.  
 As some, whom death would not depart,<sup>†</sup>  
 Have done the feat themselves by art.  
 Like Indian widows, gone to bed  
 In flaming curtains to the dead ;<sup>‡</sup> 640  
 And men as often dangled for't,  
 And yet will never leave the sport.  
 Nor do the ladies want excuse  
 For all the stratagems they use,

<sup>†</sup> *As some, whom death would not depart,]* Alluding to several reviews of the common prayer before the last, where it stood, " 'til death us depart," and then altered, " 'til death us do part."

<sup>‡</sup> *Like Indian widows, gone to bed*

*In flaming curtains to the dead ;]* They burn themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands. " Mulieres vero in India, cum est " *cujusvis earum vir mortuus, in certamen judiciumque veniunt, " quam plurimum ille dilexerit ; plures enim singulis solent esse " nuptæ. Quæ est victrix, ea læta, prosequentibus suis, una cum " viro in rogum imponitur.*" Cicero, Tusc. Disputat. v. 27. Strabo says, they were obliged to do so by law, because the women were wont to poison their husbands : and of later times, those women, who by any means evade the performance of it, are accounted infamous for the rest of their lives. By the English law, women who murder their husbands are deemed guilty of petty treason, and condemned to be burnt. In India, when the husband dies, and his corpse burnt, his wives throw themselves into the funeral pile ; and it is pretended they do it out of affection ; but some think the custom was instituted to deter the wife from hastening the period of her husband's existence.

To gain th' advantage of the set,<sup>6</sup> 645  
 And lurch the amorous rook and cheat.  
 For as the Pythagorean soul  
 Runs thro' all beasts, and fish, and fowl,<sup>7</sup>  
 And has a smack of ev'ry one,  
 So love does, and has ever done ; 650  
 And therefore, though 'tis ne'er so fond,  
 Takes strangely to the vagabond.  
 'Tis but an ague that's reverst,  
 Whose hot fit takes the patient first,  
 That after burns with cold as much 655  
 As iron in Greenland does the touch ;<sup>8</sup>  
 Melts in the furnace of desire,  
 Like glass, that's but the ice of fire ;  
 And when his heat of fancy's over,  
 Becomes as hard and frail a lover :<sup>9</sup> 660

<sup>6</sup> *To gain th' advantage of the set,*] *Set*, that is, game, a term at tennis.

<sup>7</sup> *Runs thro' all beasts, and fish, and fowl,*] Pythagoras, according to Heraclides, used to say of himself, that he remembered not only what men, but what plants and what animals his soul had passed through. And Empedocles declared of himself, that he had been first a boy, then a girl, then a plant, then a bird, then a fish.

<sup>8</sup> *That after burns with cold as much*

*As iron in Greenland does the touch ;*] Metals, if applied to the flesh, in very cold climates, occasion extreme pain. Mr. Butler, in his MS. Common-place book has quoted :

Ne tenuous pluviae, rapidive potentia solis

Acrior, aut Boreae penetrabile frigus adurat.

Virg. Georg. i. 92.

See Johnson on Psalm cxxi. 6, and his note. *That*, i. e. the patient.

<sup>9</sup> *Becomes as hard and frail a lover :*] That is, becomes a lover as hard and frail as glass : for he melts in the furnace of desire, but then it is like the melting of glass, which, when the heat is over, is but a kind of ice.

For when he's with love-powder laden,  
 And prim'd and cock'd by Miss or Madam,  
 The smallest sparkle of an eye  
 Gives fire to his artillery,  
 And off the loud oaths go, but, while 665  
 They're in the very act, recoil :  
 Hence 'tis so few dare take their chance  
 Without a sep'rate maintenance ;  
 And widows, who have try'd one lover,  
 Trust none again 'till they've made over ;<sup>1</sup> 670  
 Or if they do, before they marry,  
 The foxes weigh the geese they carry ;  
 And ere they venture o'er a stream,  
 Know how to size themselves and them.  
 Whence wittiest ladies always choose 675  
 To undertake the heaviest goose :  
 For now the world is grown so wary,  
 That few of either sex dare marry,  
 But rather trust, on tick, t'amours,  
 The cross and pile for better or worse ;<sup>2</sup> 680  
 A mode that is held honourable,  
 As well as French, and fashionable :

<sup>1</sup> *And widows, who have try'd one lover,*

*Trust none again 'till they've made over ;]* Made over their property, in trust, to a third person for their sole and separate use.

<sup>2</sup> *The cross and pile for better or worse ;]*

Whose tonge ne pill ne crouche maie hire. J. Gower.

Here it signifies a mere chance, toss up, heads or tails. This line constitutes a sentence, which is the accusative case after the verb trust ; in this sense, trust the chance for happiness or unhappiness to gallantries, for which they take one another's word.



For when it falls out for the best,  
 Where both are incommoded least,  
 In soul and body two unite, 685  
 To make up one hermaphrodite,  
 Still amorous, and fond, and billing,  
 Like Philip and Mary on a shilling;<sup>3</sup>  
 They've more punctilios and caprices  
 Between the petticoat and breeches, 690  
 More petulant extravagances,  
 Than poets make 'em in romances;  
 Tho', when their heroes 'spouse the dames,  
 We hear no more of charms and flames;  
 For then their late attracts decline, 695  
 And turn as eager as prick'd wine;  
 And all their catterwauling tricks,  
 In earnest to as jealous piques,  
 Which th' ancients wisely signify'd  
 By th' yellow mantos of the bride.<sup>4</sup> 700

<sup>3</sup> *Still amorous, and fond, and billing,*

*Like Philip and Mary on a shilling,]* On the shillings of Philip and Mary, coined 1555, the faces are placed opposite, and pretty near to each other.

<sup>4</sup> *Which th' ancients wisely signify'd*

*By th' yellow mantos of the bride,]* The bride, among the Romans, was brought home to her husband in a yellow veil, called *flammeum*. Thus Catullus, *lix.* 6 :

*Cinge tempora floribus*

*Suave-olentis amaraci :*

*Flammeum cape.*

and Lucan, *ii.* 361 :

*Lutea demissos velârunt flammea vultus.*

The widow intimates, that the yellow colour of the veil was an emblem of jealousy. The gall, which is of that colour, was consi-

For jealousy is but a kind  
 Of clap and grincam of the mind,<sup>s</sup>  
 The natural effect of love,  
 As other flames and aches prove :  
 But all the mischief is, the doubt 705  
 On whose account they first broke out ;  
 For tho' Chinesees go to bed,  
 And lie-in in their ladies' stead,<sup>s</sup>

dered as the seat of the evil passions. We learn from Plutarch's connubial precepts, that they who sacrificed to Juno did not consecrate the gall, but threw it beside the altar : signifying that gall or anger should never attend a marriage ; but that the severity of a matron should be profitable and pleasant, like the roughness of wine, and not disagreeable and of a medicinal quality, like aloes.

<sup>s</sup> *Of clap and grincam of the mind.*] The later editions read *crincam* ; either of them is a cant word, denoting an infectious disease, or whimsical affection, of the mind, applied commonly to love, lewdness, or jealousy. Thus, in the manors of East and West Enborne, in Berkshire, if the widow by incontinence forfeits her free bench, she may recover it again, by riding into the next manor court, backward, on a black ram, with his tail in her hand, and saying the following words :

Here I am, riding upon a black ram,  
 Like a whore as I am :  
 And for my crincum crancum,  
 Have lost my bincum bancum.

Blount's *Fragmenta Antiquitat.* first ed. p. 144.

[Nares's Glossary affords the following perfectly explanatory passage : " You must know, Sir, in a nobleman 'tis abusive ; no, in " him the serpigio, in a knight the *grincomes*, in a gentleman the " Neapolitan scabb, and in a serving man or artificer the plaine " pox." Jones's *Adrasta*, 1635. C. 2.]

<sup>s</sup> *For tho' Chinesees go to bed,*

*And lie-in in their ladies' stead.*] In some countries, after the wife has recovered her lying-in, it has been the custom for the husband to go to bed, and be treated with the same care and tenderness. Apollonius Rhodius, II. 1013, says of the Tibarini in Pontus :

And, for the pains they took before,  
 Are nurs'd and pamper'd to do more ; 710  
 Our green-men do it worse, when th' hap'<sup>7</sup>  
 To fall in labour of a clap ;  
 Both lay the child to one another,  
 But who's the father, who the mother,  
 'Tis hard to say in multitudes, 715  
 Or who imported the French goods.<sup>8</sup>

Τοῦδε μέτ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα Γενηταίου Διὸς ἀκρον  
 Γνάμψαντες, σώοντο παρὲς Τιβαρηνίδα γαῖαν.  
 "Ενθ' ἐπὶ ἄρ κε τέκονται ὑπ' ἀνδράσι τέκνα γυναῖκες,  
 Αὐτοὶ μὲν στενάχουσιν ἐνὶ λεχέεσσι πεσόντες,  
 Κράατα δησάμενοι· ταὶ δ' εὖ κομέουσιν ἰδωδῇ  
 Ἀνέρας, ἡδὲ λοετρὰ λεχώια τοῖσι πίνονται.

And Valerius Flaccus, v. 148 :

Inde Genetæi rupem Jovis, hinc Tibarenum  
 Dant virides post terga lacus ; ubi deside mitrâ  
 Fœta ligat, partuque virum fovet ipsa soluto.

The history of mankind hath scarcely furnished any thing more unaccountable than the prevalence of this custom. We meet with it in ancient and modern times, in the old world and in the new, among nations who could never have had the least intercourse with each other. In Purchas's Pilgrim, it is said to be practised among the Brasilians. At Haerlem, a cambrick cockade hung to the door, shews that the woman of the house is brought to bed, and that her husband claims a protection from arrests during the six weeks of his wife's confinement. Polnitz Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 396.

<sup>7</sup> *Our green-men do it worse, when th' hap*] Raw, inexperienced youths ; or else the beaus and coxcombs of those days, who might delight in green clothes : or perhaps he means a new married couple. Shakspeare, in Hamlet, (Act iv. sc. 5.) says :

And we have done but *greenly* to inter him.

<sup>8</sup> *Or who imported the French goods.*] Nicholas Monardes, a physician of Seville, who died 1577, tells us, that this disease was supposed to have been brought into Europe at the siege of Naples, from the West Indies, by some of Columbus's sailors, who accompanied him to Naples on his return from his first voyage. When

But health and sickness b'ing all one,  
 Which both engag'd before to own,<sup>9</sup>  
 And are not with their bodies bound  
 To worship, only when they're sound, 720  
 Both give and take their equal shares  
 Of all they suffer by false wares ;  
 A fate no lover can divert  
 With all his caution, wit, and art :  
 For 'tis in vain so think to guess 725  
 At women by appearances,  
 That paint and patch their imperfections  
 Of intellectual complections,

peace was there made between the French and Spaniards, the armies of both nations had free intercourse, and conversing with the same women, were infected by this disorder. The Spaniards thought they had received the contagion from the French, and the French maintained that it had been communicated to them by the Spaniards. Guicciardin, in the end of his second book, dates the origin of this distemper in Europe, at the year 1495. Dr. Gascoigne, as quoted by Anthony Wood, says he had known several persons who had died of it in his time. Naples was besieged in the reign of our Henry VII. and Dr. Gascoigne lived in the time of Richard II. and Henry VI. His will was proved in the year 1457. The account of Monardes is erroneous in many particulars. Indeed, after all the pains which have been taken by judicious writers, to prove that this disease was brought from America, or the West Indies, the fact is not sufficiently established. Perhaps it was generated in Guinea, or some other equinoctial part of Africa. Astruc, the best writer on this subject, says, it was brought from the West Indies, between the years 1494 and 1496.

<sup>9</sup> *But health and sickness b'ing all one,*

*Which both engag'd before to own,*] Alluding to the words of the marriage ceremony : so in the following lines,

— with their bodies bound  
 To worship.

And daub their tempers o'er with washes  
 As artificial as their faces ; 730  
 Wear under vizard-masks their talents  
 And mother-wits before their gallants :  
 Until they're hamper'd in the noose,  
 Too fast to dream of breaking loose ;  
 When all the flaws they strove to hide 735  
 Are made unready with the bride,  
 That with her wedding-clothes undresses  
 Her complaisance and gentileesses ;  
 Tries all her arts to take upon her  
 The government, from th' easy owner ; 740  
 Until the wretch is glad to wave  
 His lawful right, and turn her slave ;  
 Find all his having and his holding  
 Reduc'd t' eternal noise and scolding ;  
 The conjugal petard, that tears 745  
 Down all portcullices of ears,<sup>1</sup>  
 And makes the volley of one tongue  
 For all their leathern shields too strong ;  
 When only arm'd with noise and nails,  
 The female silkworms ride the males,<sup>2</sup> 750

<sup>1</sup> *Find all his having and his holding*  
*Reduc'd t' eternal noise and scolding ;*  
*The conjugal petard, that tears*

*Down all portcullices of ears,]* The poet humorously compares the noise and clamour of a scolding wife, which breaks the drum of her husband's ears, to the petard, or short cannon, beating down the gates of a castle.

<sup>2</sup> *The female silkworms ride the males,]* That is, the females, like silk worms, gaudy reptiles.

Transform 'em into rams and goats,  
 Like syrens, with their charming notes ;  
 Sweet as a screech-owl's serenade,  
 Or those enchanting murmurs made  
 By th' husband mandrake, and the wife, 755  
 Both bury'd, like themselves, alive.\*

Quoth he, These reasons are but strains  
 Of wanton, over-heated brains,  
 Which ralliers in their wit or drink  
 Do rather wheedle with, than think. 760  
 Man was not man in paradise,  
 Until he was created twice,  
 And had his better half, his bride,  
 Carv'd from th' original, his side,†

\* *By th' husband mandrake, and the wife,*

*Both bury'd, like themselves, alive.*] Ancient botanists entertained various conceits about this plant ; in its forked roots they discovered the shapes of men and women ; and the sound which proceeded from its strong fibres, when strained or torn from the ground, they took for the voice of an human being ; sometimes they imagined that they had distinctly heard their conversation. The poet takes the liberty of enlarging upon these hints, and represents the mandrake husband and wife quarrelling under ground ; a situation, he says, not more uncomfortable than that of a married pair continually at variance, since these, if not in fact, are virtually buried alive. In Columella, lib. x. we have, *semihomines mandragoræ flores*. The Hebrew word, in Genesis, may be disputed upon for ever. Benoit, the historian of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, thought it meant strawberries. *Chaufepié*, v. Benoit.

† *Carv'd from th' original, his side,*] Thus Cleveland :

Adam, 'til his rib was lost,  
 Had the sexes thus engrost.  
 When Providence our sire did cleave,  
 And out of Adam carved Eve,  
 Then did men 'bout wedlock treat,  
 To make his body up complete.

All which sufficiently declare  
 How entirely marriage is her care,  
 The only method that she uses, 805  
 In all the wonders she produces ;  
 And those that take their rules from her  
 Can never be deceiv'd, nor err :  
 For what secures the civil life,  
 But pawns of children, and a wife ?<sup>1</sup> 810  
 That lie, like hostages, at stake,  
 To pay for all men undertake ;  
 To whom it is as necessary,  
 As to be born and breathe, to marry ;  
 So universal, all mankind 815  
 In nothing else is of one mind :  
 For in what stupid age, or nation,  
 Was marriage ever out of fashion ?<sup>1</sup>  
 Unless among the Amazons,  
 Or cloister'd friars and vestal nuns,<sup>2</sup> 820  
 Or stoics, who, to bar the freaks  
 And loose excesses of the sex,

<sup>1</sup> *For what secures the civil life,  
 But pawns of children, and a wife ?*] Qui liberos genuit, obsides  
 fortunæ dedit.

<sup>1</sup> *For in what stupid age, or nation,  
 Was marriage ever out of fashion ?*] The general prevalence of  
 matrimony, is a good argument for its use and continuance.

<sup>2</sup> *Unless among the Amazons,  
 Or cloister'd friars and vestal nuns ;*] The Amazons were women  
 of Scythian extraction, settled in Cappadocia, who, as Justin tells  
 us, avoided marriage, accounting it no better than servitude.  
*Cloistered friars*, so termed by the poet, because they take a vow of  
 celibacy like the vestals in ancient Rome. The poor vestal nuns  
 must have a place in the catalogue.

Prepost'rously would have all women  
 Turn'd up to all the world in common ;<sup>3</sup>  
 Tho' men would find such mortal feuds      825  
 In sharing of their public goods,  
 'Twould put them to more charge of lives,  
 Than they're supply'd with now by wives ;  
 Until they graze and wear their clothes,  
 As beasts do, of their native growths :<sup>4</sup>      830  
 For simple wearing of their horns  
 Will not suffice to serve their turns.  
 For what can we pretend t'inherit,  
 Unless the marriage deed will bear it ?  
 Could claim no right to lands or rents,      835  
 But for our parents' settlements ;  
 Had been but younger sons o' th' earth,  
 Debarr'd it all, but for our birth.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Or stoics, who, to bar the freaks  
 And loose excesses of the sex,  
 Prepost'rously would have all women*

*Turn'd up to all the world in common ;]* Diogenes asserted, that marriage was nothing but an empty name. And Zeno, the father of the stoics, maintained that all women ought to be common, that no words were obscene, and no parts of the body needed to be covered.

<sup>4</sup> *Until they graze and wear their clothes,  
 As beasts do, of their native growths :* ] i. e. such intercommunity of women would be productive of the worst consequences, unless mankind were already reduced to the most barbarous state of nature, and men become altogether brutes.

<sup>5</sup> *Had been but younger sons o' th' earth,  
 Debarr'd it all, but for our birth.]* If there had been no matrimony, we should have had no provision made for us by our forefathers ; but, like younger children of our primitive parent the earth, should have been excluded from every possession. He seems



What honours, or estates of peers,  
 Could be preserv'd but by their heirs? 840  
 And what security maintains  
 Their right and title, but the bans?  
 What crowns could be hereditary,  
 If greatest monarchs did not marry,  
 And with their consorts consummate 845  
 Their weightiest interests of state?  
 For all th' amours of princes are  
 But guarantees of peace or war.  
 Or what but marriage has a charm,  
 The rage of empires to disarm? 850  
 Make blood and desolation cease,  
 And fire and sword unite in peace,  
 When all their fierce contests for forage  
 Conclude in articles of marriage?  
 Nor does the genial bed provide 855  
 Less for the int'rests of the bride,  
 Who else had not the least pretence  
 T' as much as due benevolence;  
 Could no more title take upon her  
 To virtue, quality, and honour, 860  
 Than ladies errant unconfin'd,  
 And femme-coverts t' all mankind.  
 All women would be of one piece,  
 The virtuous matron, and the miss;

to reflect obliquely upon the common method of distributing the properties of families so much in favour of the elder branches, the younger sons not inheriting the land.

The nymphs of chaste Diana's train, 865  
 The same with those in Lewkner's-lane,<sup>a</sup>  
 But for the diff'rence marriage makes  
 'Twixt wives and ladies of the lakes :<sup>b</sup>  
 Besides, the joys of place and birth,  
 The sex's paradise on earth,<sup>c</sup> 870  
 A privilege so sacred held,  
 That none will to their mothers yield ;  
 But rather than not go before,  
 Abandon heaven at the door : <sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *The same with those in Lewkner's-lane,*] A street in the neighbourhood of Drury-lane or St. Giles's, inhabited chiefly by strumpets.

<sup>b</sup> *But for the diff'rence marriage makes*

<sup>c</sup> *'Twixt wives and ladies of the lakes :*] Alluding to the old romance of sir Lancelot and the Lady of the Lake. Mr. Warburton. But the corrected edition reads lakes in the plural number ; and perhaps we may look for these ladies elsewhere, in the lagunes of Venice, certain streets in Westminster, or Lambeth Marsh, Bank-side, &c. &c. [*Lake*, to play ; from the gothick and Saxon, *laikan*. Used in the north of England. Todd.]

<sup>d</sup> *Besides, the joys of place and birth,*

*The sex's paradise on earth,*] Thus Mr. Pope :

For sylphs, yet mindful of their ancient race,  
 Are, as when women, wond'rous fond of place.

Our poet, though vindicating the ladies and the happy estate of matrimony, cannot help introducing this stroke of satire : Bastards have no place, or rank.

<sup>e</sup> *But rather than not go before,*

*Abandon heaven at the door :*] That is, not go to church at all, if they have not their right of precedence. Chaucer says of the wife of Bath, 451 :

In all the parish wif ne was there non,  
 That to the offering before hire shulde gon,  
 And if ther did, certain so wroth was she,  
 That she was out of alle charitee.

And if th' indulgent law allows 875  
 A greater freedom to the spouse,  
 The reason is, because the wife  
 Runs greater hazards of her life ;  
 Is trusted with the form and matter  
 Of all mankind, by careful nature, 880  
 Where man brings nothing but the stuff  
 She frames the wond'rous fabric of ; <sup>1</sup>  
 Who therefore, in a strait, may freely  
 Demand the clergy of her belly, <sup>2</sup>  
 And make it save her the same way, 885  
 It seldom misses to betray ; <sup>3</sup>  
 Unless both parties wisely enter  
 Into the liturgy-indenture.

<sup>1</sup> *Where man brings nothing but the stuff*

*She frames the wond'rous fabric of ;*] Various have been the attempts to explain the mystery of *génération*. Aristotle, Harvey, Lewenhoeck, Drake, and Bartholine, have produced their different hypotheses. But from farther discoveries in anatomy, supported by the strictest analogy throughout the animal and vegetable kingdoms, it appears that the female furnishes the germ or ovum, which is only impregnated by the male : or, in the words of Mr. Hunter, the female produces a seed, in which is the matter fitted for the first arrangement of the organs of the animal, and which receives the principle of arrangement fitting it for action, from the male.

<sup>2</sup> *Who therefore, in a strait, may freely*

*Demand the clergy of her belly,*] As benefit of clergy may be craved in some cases of felony ; so pregnant women, who have received sentence of death, may demand or crave a respite from execution, till after they are delivered.

<sup>3</sup> *And make it save her the same way,*

*It seldom misses to betray ;*] As their big bellies betray their incontinence, so they sometimes save their lives.

And tho' some fits of small contest  
 Sometimes fall out among the best, 890  
 That is no more than ev'ry lover  
 Does from his hackney lady suffer ;  
 That makes no breach of faith and love,  
 But rather, sometimes, serves t' improve ;<sup>a</sup>  
 For as, in running, ev'ry pace 895  
 Is but between two legs a race,  
 In which both do their uttermost  
 To get before, and win the post ;  
 Yet when they're at their race's ends,  
 They're still as kind and constant friends, 900  
 And, to relieve their weariness,  
 By turns give one another ease ;  
 So all those false alarms of strife  
 Between the husband and the wife,  
 And little quarrels often prove 905  
 To be but new recruits of love ;  
 When those who're always kind or coy,  
 In time must either tire or cloy.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *That makes no breach of faith and love,  
 But rather, sometimes, serves t' improve ;*]

*Amantium iræ, amoris integratio est.* Ter. And. iii. 3.

*In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia; injuriæ,*

*Suspiciones, inimicitia, induciæ,*

*Bellum, pax rursus.* Id. Eun. I. sc. i. 14.

<sup>a</sup> *When those who are always kind or coy,*

*In time must either tire or cloy.*] *Coy* seems to be used in the French sense, for quiet or still. It has this signification both in Chaucer and Douglas. [A passage quoted by archdeacon Nares under the verb *to coy* will explain Butler's meaning :

And while she *coys* his sooty cheeks, and curls his sweaty top.

Warner's Alb. Engl. B. vi. p. 148.

And the following line from an old poem, " William and the

Nor are their loudest clamours more  
 Than as they're relish'd, sweet or sour ; 910  
 Like music, that proves bad or good,  
 According as 'tis understood.  
 In all amours a lover burns  
 With frowns, as well as smiles, by turns ;  
 And hearts have been as oft with sullen, 915  
 As charming looks, surpriz'd and stolen :  
 Then why should more bewitching clamour  
 Some lovers not as much enamour ?  
 For discords make the sweetest airs,  
 And curses are a kind of pray'rs ; 920  
 Too slight alloys for all those grand  
 Felicities by marriage gain'd :  
 For nothing else has pow'r to settle  
 Th' interests of love perpetual ;  
 An act and deed that makes one heart 925  
 Become another's counter-part,  
 And passes fines on faith and love,<sup>c</sup>  
 Inroll'd and register'd above.  
 To seal the slippery knots of vows,  
 Which nothing else but death can loose. 930  
 And what security's too strong  
 To guard that gentle heart from wrong,  
 That to its friend is glad to pass  
 Itself away, and all it has,

Werwolf, may be interesting on a word that has been used in such opposite senses :

*Acayed* it [a child] to come to him and clepud it oft.]

<sup>c</sup> *And passes fines on faith and love,*] That is, makes them irrevocable, and secures the title ; as passing a fine in law does a conveyance or settlement.

And, like an anchorite, gives over 935

This world, for th' heav'n of a lover ?<sup>7</sup>

I grant, quoth she, there are some few

Who take that course, and find it true ;

But millions, whom the same does sentence

To heav'n b' another way, repentance. 940

Love's arrows are but shot at rovers,<sup>8</sup>

Tho' all they hit they turn to lovers,

And all the weighty consequents

Depend upon more blind events

Than gamesters when they play a set, 945

With greatest cunning, at piquet

Put out with caution, but take in

They know not what, unsight, unseen.

For what do lovers, when they're fast

In one another's arms embrac'd, 950

But strive to plunder, and convey

Each other, like a prize, away ?<sup>9</sup>

To change the property of selves,

As sucking children are by elves ?

<sup>7</sup> *And, like an anchorite, gives over*

*This world, for the heav'n of a lover ?*] Mr. Butler, I hope, has now made amends for his former incivility. In this speech the knight has defended the ladies, and the married state, with great gallantry, wit, and good sense.

<sup>8</sup> *Love's arrows are but shot at rovers,*] That is, shot at random, passim, temere.

<sup>9</sup> *But strive to plunder, and convey*

*Each other, like a prize, away ?*]

Quæ me surpuerat mihi. Hor. Od. iv. 13.

But such writers as Petronius best explain the spirit of this passage, were it fit to be explained.—Transfudimus hinc et hinc labellis errantes animas.

And if they use their persons so, 955  
 What will they to their fortunes do ?  
 Their fortunes ! the perpetual aims  
 Of all their extasies and flames.  
 For when the money's on the book,  
 And " all my worldly goods"—but spoke,<sup>1</sup> 960  
 The formal livery and seisin  
 That puts a lover in possession ;  
 To that alone the bridegroom's wedded,  
 The bride a flam that's superseded ;  
 To that their faith is still made good, 965  
 And all the oaths to us they vow'd ;  
 For when we once resign our pow'rs,  
 We've nothing left we can call ours :  
 Our money's now become the miss  
 Of all your lives and services ; 970  
 And we forsaken and postpon'd,  
 But baw'ds to what before we own'd ;<sup>2</sup>  
 Which, as it made y' at first gallant us,  
 So now hires others to supplant us,  
 Until 'tis all turn'd out of doors, 975  
 As we had been, for new amours.  
 For what did ever heiress yet,  
 By being born to lordships get ?

<sup>1</sup> *For when the money's on the book,*

*And " all my worldly goods"—but spoke,]* Alluding to the form of marriage in the common prayer book, where the fee is directed to be put upon the book, and the bridegroom endows the bride with all his worldly goods.

<sup>2</sup> *But baw'ds to what before we own'd ;]* That is, are procurers of the Miss, our money, which we before owned.

When the more lady she's of manors,  
 She's but expos'd to more trepanners, 980  
 Pays for their projects and designs,  
 And for her own destruction fines;  
 And does but tempt them with her riches,  
 To use her as the dev'l does witches,  
 Who takes it for a special grace, 985  
 To be their cully for a space,  
 That, when the time's expir'd, the drazels\*  
 For ever may become his vassals:  
 So she, bewitch'd by rooks and spirits,  
 Betrays herself, and all sh' inherits; 990  
 Is bought and sold, like stolen goods,  
 By pimps, and match-makers, and bawds;  
 Until they force her to convey  
 And steal the thief himself away.  
 These are the everlasting fruits 995  
 Of all your passionate love-suits,  
 Th' effects of all your am'rous fancies,  
 To portions and inheritances;

\* *That, when the time's expir'd, the drazels*] The mean low wretches, or draggie-tails. *Drazels*, I believe means vagrants, from an old French word, *draseler*, a vagabond; *draser*, the same as *vaguer*: the words signify the same in Dutch. Thus Warner, in his *Albion's England*:

Now does each drazel in her glass, when I was young I wot,  
 On holydays (for seldom else) such idle time was got.

[*Draseler* is not to be found in *Roquefort*, *Furetiere*, nor *Richelet*, nor is it in the Dutch Dictionaries of *Halma* nor *Winckelmann*; but *dras*, in Dutch, is mud; and as *Grose* explains *drazil*, a dirty slut, and gives the word to the Southern part of England, the Dutch language may have in this case enriched our vocabulary, and we need not go with *Todd* and *Nares* to *drotchell* and *drossel*.]



Your love-sick raptures for fruition  
 Of dowry, jointure, and tuition; 1000  
 To which you make address and courtship,  
 And with your bodies strive to worship,  
 That th' infant's fortunes may partake  
 Of love too,<sup>4</sup> for the mother's sake.  
 For these you play at purposes, 1005  
 And love your loves with A's and B's;  
 For these, at Beste and l'Ombre woo,  
 And play for love and money too;<sup>5</sup>  
 Strive who shall be the ablest man  
 At right gallanting of a fan; 1010  
 And who the most genteelly bred  
 At sucking of a vizard-bead;<sup>6</sup>  
 How best t' accost us in all quarters,  
 T<sup>r</sup> our question and command new garters;<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *That th' infant's fortunes may partake  
 Of love too—*] That is, the widow's children by a former husband, that are under age, to whom the lover would be glad to be guardian, as well as have the management of the jointure.

<sup>5</sup> *For these you play at purposes,  
 And love your loves with A's and B's;  
 For these, at Beste and l'Ombre woo,  
 And play for love and money too;*] The widow, in these and the following lines, gives no bad sketch of a person, who endeavours to retrieve his circumstances by marriage, and practises every method in his power to recommend himself to his rich mistress: he plays with her at questions and commands, endeavours to divert her with cards, puts himself in masquerade, flirts her fan, talks of flames and darts, aches and sufferings; which last, the poet intimates, might more justly be attributed to other causes.

<sup>6</sup> *At sucking of a vizard bead;*] Masks were kept close to the face, by a bead fixed to the inside of them, and held in the mouth.

<sup>7</sup> *How best t' accost us in all quarters,  
 T<sup>r</sup> our question and command new garters;*] At the vulgar play

And solidly discourse upon 1015  
 All sorts of dresses pro and con :  
 For there's no mystery nor trade,  
 But in the art of love is made ;<sup>a</sup>  
 And when you have more debts to pay  
 Than Michaelmas and Lady-day,<sup>b</sup> 1020  
 And no way possible to do't  
 But love and oaths, and restless suit,  
 To us y' apply, to pay the scores  
 Of all your cully'd past amours ;  
 Act o'er your flames and darts again, 1025  
 And charge us with your wounds and pain ;  
 Which other's influences long since  
 Have charm'd your noses with, and shins ;  
 For which the surgeon is unpaid,  
 And like to be, without our aid. 1030  
 Lord ! what an am'rous thing is want !  
 How debts and mortgages enchant !  
 What graces must that lady have,  
 That can from executions save !  
 What charms, that can reverse extent, 1035  
 And null decree and exigent !

of questions and commands, a forfeiture often was to take off a lady's garter : expecting this therefore the lady provided herself with new ones. Or she might be commanded to make the gentleman a present of a pair of new garters.

<sup>a</sup> *But in the art of love is made ;* ] That is, made use of, or practised.

<sup>b</sup> *And when you have more debts to pay Than Michaelmas and Lady-day,* ] These are the two principal rent days in the year : unpleasant days to the tenant, and not satisfactory to the landlord, when his debts exceed his rents.

What magical attracts, and graces,  
 That can redeem from *scire facias* !<sup>1</sup>  
 From bonds and statutes can discharge,  
 And from contempts of courts enlarge ! 1040  
 These are the highest excellencies  
 Of all your true or false pretences ;  
 And you would damn yourselves, and swear  
 As much t' an hostess dowager,  
 Grown fat and pursy by retail 1045  
 Of pots of beer and bottled ale,  
 And find her fitter for your turn,  
 For fat is wondrous apt to burn ;  
 Who at your flames would soon take fire,  
 Relent, and melt to your desire, 1050  
 And, like a candle in the socket,  
 Dissolve her graces int' your pocket.  
 By this time 'twas grown dark and late,  
 When th' heard a knocking at the gate,

<sup>1</sup> *What graces must that lady have,  
 That can from executions save !  
 What charms, that can reverse extent,  
 And null decree and exigent !  
 What magical attracts, and graces,  
 That can redeem from scire facias !*

Here the poet shews his knowledge of the law, and law terms, which he always uses with great propriety. *Execution* is obtaining possession of any thing recovered by judgment of law. *Extent*, the estimate of lands to their utmost value by the sheriff, and jury, in order to satisfy a bond, or other engagement forfeited. *Exigent* is a writ requiring a person to appear; it lies where the defendant in an action personal cannot be found, or any thing in the county, whereby he may be distrained. *Scire facias*, a writ to shew cause why execution of judgment should not go out.

Laid on in haste, with such a powder, 1055  
 The blows grew louder still and louder :  
 Which Hudibras, as if they 'ad been  
 Bestow'd as freely on his skin,  
 Expounding by his inward light,  
 Or rather more prophetic fright, 1060  
 To be the wizard, come to search,  
 And take him napping in the lurch,  
 Turn'd pale as ashes, or a clout ;  
 But why, or wherefore, is a doubt :  
 For men will tremble, and turn paler, 1065  
 With too much, or too little valour.  
 His heart laid on, as if it try'd  
 To force a passage through his side,<sup>a</sup>  
 Impatient, as he vow'd, to wait 'em,  
 But in a fury to fly at 'em ; 1070  
 And therefore beat, and laid about,  
 To find a cranny to creep out.  
 But she, who saw in what a taking  
 The Knight was by his furious quaking,  
 Undaunted cry'd, Courage, sir Knight, 1075  
 Know I'm resolv'd to break no rite  
 Of hospitality t' a stranger ;  
 But, to secure you out of danger,  
 Will here myself stand sentinel,  
 To guard this pass 'gainst Sidrophel : 1080

<sup>a</sup> *His heart laid on, as if it try'd  
 To force a passage through his side,]*

*"Ἐκτοπὶ τ' αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἐνὶ τήθεσσι πάτασεν. Il. vii. 216.*

Women, you know, do seldom fail  
 To make the stoutest men turn tail,  
 And bravely scorn to turn their backs,  
 Upon the desp'ratest attacks.

At this the Knight grew resolute, 1085

As Ironside, or Hardiknute ;<sup>1</sup>

His fortitude began to rally,

And out he cry'd aloud, to sally ;

But she besought him to convey

His courage rather out o' th' way, 1090

And lodge in ambush on the floor,

Or fortify'd behind a door,

That, if the enemy should enter,

He might relieve her in th' adventure.

Meanwhile they knock'd against the door,

As fierce as at the gate before ;

Which made the renegado Knight

Relapse again t' his former fright.

He thought it desperate to stay

Till th' enemy had forc'd his way, 1100

But rather post himself, to serve

The lady for a fresh reserve.

His duty was not to dispute,

But what she 'ad order'd execute ;

Which he resolv'd in haste t' obey, 1105

And therefore stoutly march'd away,

<sup>1</sup> *As Ironside, or Hardiknute ;*] Two princes celebrated for their valour in our histories. The former lived about the year 1016, the latter 1037.

And all h' encounter'd fell upon,  
Tho' in the dark, and all alone ;  
Till fear, that braver feats performs  
Than ever courage dar'd in arms, 1110  
Had drawn him up before a pass,  
To stand upon his guard, and face ;  
This he courageously invaded,  
And, having enter'd, barricado'd ;  
Ensconc'd himself as formidable 1115  
As could be underneath a table ;  
Where he lay down in ambush close,  
T' expect th' arrival of his foes.  
Few minutes he had lain perdue,  
To guard his desp'rate avenue, 1120  
Before he heard a dreadful shout,  
As loud as putting to the rout,  
With which impatiently alarm'd,  
He fancy'd th' enemy had storm'd,  
And after ent'ring, Sidrophel 1125  
Was fall'n upon the guards pellmell ;  
He therefore sent out all his senses  
To bring him in intelligences,  
Which vulgars, out of ignorance,  
Mistake for falling in a trance ; 1130  
But those that trade in geomancy,<sup>4</sup>  
Affirm to be the strength of fancy ;

<sup>4</sup> *But those that trade in geomancy,*] A sort of divination by clefts or chinks in the ground. Polydore Virgil de inventione rerum, supposes it to have been invented by the magi of Persia.

In which the Lapland magi deal,  
 And things incredible reveal.  
 Mean while the foe beat up his quarters, 1135  
 And storm'd the outworks of his fortress;  
 And as another of the same  
 Degree and party, in arms and fame,  
 That in the same cause had engag'd,  
 And war with equal conduct wag'd, 1140  
 By vent'ring only but to thrust  
 His head a span beyond his post,  
 B' a gen'ral of the cavaliers  
 Was dragg'd thro' a window by the ears :<sup>a</sup>  
 So he was serv'd in his redoubt, 1145  
 And by the other end pull'd out.  
 Soon as they had him at their mercy,  
 They put him to the cudgel fiercely,

<sup>a</sup> *By vent'ring only but to thrust*

*His head a span beyond his post,*

*B' a gen'ral of the cavaliers*

*Was dragg'd thro' a window by th' ears ;*] A right honourable gentleman of high character,\* now living, assured me that this circumstance happened to one of his relations, sir Richard (Dr. Grey calls him sir Erasmus) Philips, of Picton castle, in Pembrokeshire. The cavaliers, commanded by colonel Egerton, attacked this place, and demanded a parley. Sir Richard consented ; and being a little man, stepped upon a bench, and shewed himself at one of the windows. The colonel, who was high in stature, sat on horseback underneath ; and pretending to be deaf, desired the other to come as near him as he could. Sir Richard then leaned a good deal from the window ; when the colonel seized him by the ears, and drew him out. Soon after, the castle surrendered.

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\* Earl of Orford.

As if they scorn'd to trade and barter,<sup>6</sup>  
 By giving, or by taking quarter : 1150  
 They stoutly on his quarters laid,  
 Until his scouts came in t' his aid :<sup>7</sup>  
 For when a man is past his sense,  
 There's no way to reduce him thence,  
 But twinging him by th' ears or nose, 1155  
 Or laying on of heavy blows :  
 And if that will not do the deed,  
 To burning with hot irons proceed.

No sooner was he come t' himself,  
 But on his neck a sturdy elf 1160  
 Clapp'd in a trice his cloven hoof,  
 And thus attack'd him with reproof:

Mortal, thou art betray'd to us  
 B' our friend, thy evil genius,  
 Who for thy horrid perjuries, 1165  
 Thy breach of faith, and turning lies,  
 The brethren's privilege, against  
 The wicked, on themselves, the saints,  
 Has here thy wretched carcass sent,  
 For just revenge and punishment ; 1170

<sup>6</sup> *As if they scorn'd to trade and barter,*] Pyrrhus says to the Romans, from Ennius, in Tully's Offices :

Nec mi aurum posco, nec mi pretium dederitis ;  
 Nec cauponantes bellum, sed belligerantes,  
 Ferro, non auro vitam cernamus utrique.

<sup>7</sup> *They stoutly on his quarters laid,*  
*Until his scouts came in t' his aid ;*] i. e. till his senses returned.



Which thou hast now no way to lessen,  
 But by an open, free confession : \*  
 For if we catch thee failing once,  
 'Twill fall the heavier on thy bones.

What made thee venture to betray,            1175  
 And filch the lady's heart away,  
 To spirit her to matrimony ?—

That which contracts all matches, money.  
 It was th' enchantment of her riches,  
 That made m' apply t' your crony witches ; \*

\* *Which thou hast now no way to lessen,*

*But by an open free confession.*] This scene is imitated, but with much less wit and learning, in a poem called *Dunstable Downs*, falsely attributed to Mr. Samuel Butler. See the third volume of the *Remains*. In that poem, whoever was the author, the allusion to the high court of justice, and trial of Charles the first, is apposite. See Bradshaw's speech to the king :

This court is independent on  
 All forms, and methods, but its own.  
 And will not be directed by  
 The persons they intend to try.  
 And I must tell you, you're mistaken,  
 If you propose to save your bacon,  
 By pleading to your jurisdiction,  
 Which will admit of no restriction.  
 Here's no appeal, nor no demurrer,  
 Nor after judgment writ of error.  
 If you persist to quirk or quibble,  
 And on you terms of law to nibble,  
 The court's determin'd to proceed,  
 Whether you do, or do not plead.

\* *That made m' apply t' your crony witches ;*] Your old friends  
 and companions.

That in return would pay th' expence,  
 The wear and tear of conscience,<sup>1</sup>  
 Which I could have patch'd up, and turn'd,  
 For th' hundredth part of what I earn'd.

Didst thou not love her then? Speak true.  
 No more, quoth he, than I love you.—

How would'st thou'veus'd her, and her money?  
 First turn'd her up to alimony,<sup>2</sup>  
 And laid her dowry out in law,  
 To null her jointure with a flaw, 1190  
 Which I beforehand had agreed  
 T' have put, on purpose, in the deed,  
 And bar her widow's-making-over  
 T' a friend in trust, or private lover.

What made thee pick and chuse her out 1195  
 T' employ their sorceries about?—

That which makes gamesters play with those  
 Who have least wit, and most to lose.

But didst thou scourge thy vessel thus,  
 As thou hast damn'd thyself to us?— 1200

I see you take me for an ass:  
 'Tis true, I thought the trick would pass,

<sup>1</sup> *That in return would pay th' expence,*

*The wear and tear of conscience,*] The knight confesses, that he would have sacrificed his conscience to money. In reality, he had gotten rid of it long before.

<sup>2</sup> *First turn'd her up to alimony,*] To provide for herself, as horses do when they are turned to grass. The poet might possibly design a jeu de mot. *Alimony* is a separate maintenance paid by the husband to the wife, where she is not convicted of adultery.

Upon a woman, well enough,  
 As 't has been often found by proof,  
 Whose humours are not to be won 1205  
 But when they are impos'd upon ;  
 For love approves of all they do  
 That stand for candidates, and woo.

Why didst thou forge those shameful lies  
 Of bears and witches in disguise ?— 1210

That is no more than authors give  
 The rabble credit to believe ;  
 A trick of following the leaders,  
 To entertain their gentle readers ;  
 And we have now no other way 1215  
 Of passing all we do or say ;  
 Which, when 'tis natural and true,  
 Will be believ'd b' a very few,  
 Beside the danger of offence,  
 The fatal enemy of sense. 1220

Why dost thou chuse that cursed sin,  
 Hypocrisy, to set up in ?—

Because it is the thriving'st calling,  
 The only saints' bell that rings all in ;<sup>a</sup>  
 In which all churches are concern'd, 1225  
 And is the easiest to be learn'd :  
 For no degrees, unless th' employ 'it,  
 Can ever gain much, or enjoy 't.

<sup>a</sup> *The only saints' bell that rings all in ;*] The small bell, which rings immediately before the minister begins the church service, is called the saints' bell ; and when the clerk has rung this bell, he says, " he has rung all in."

A gift that is not only able  
 To domineer among the rabble, 1230  
 But by the laws empower'd to rout,  
 And awe the greatest that stand out;  
 Which few hold forth against, for fear  
 Their hands should slip, and come too near;  
 For no sin else, among the saints, 1235  
 Is taught so tenderly against.

What made thee break thy plighted vows?—  
 That which makes others break a house,  
 And hang, and scorn ye all, before  
 Endure the plague of being poor.<sup>a</sup> 1240

Quoth he, I see you have more tricks  
 Than all your doating politics,  
 That are grown old and out of fashion,  
 Compar'd with your new reformation;  
 That we must come to school to you, 1245  
 To learn your more refin'd and new.

Quoth he, If you will give me leave  
 To tell you what I now perceive,  
 You'll find yourself an arrant chouse,  
 If y' were but at a meeting-house. 1250

'Tis true, quoth he, we ne'er come there,  
 Because w' have let 'em out by th' year.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *And hang, and scorn ye all, before  
 Endure the plague of being poor.*] Scorn, that is, defy your law  
 and punishment.

<sup>a</sup> *'Tis true, quoth he, we ne'er come there,  
 Because w' have let 'em out by th' year.*] The devils are here  
 looked upon as landlords of the meeting-houses, since the tenants of  
 them were known to be so diabolical, and to hold them by no good

Truly, quoth he, you can't imagine  
 What wond'rous things they will engage in ;  
 That as your fellow fiends in hell 1255  
 Were angels all before they fell,  
 So are you like to be agen,  
 Compar'd with th' angels of us men.<sup>6</sup>  
 Quoth he, I am resolv'd to be  
 Thy scholar in this mystery ; 1260  
 And therefore first desire to know  
 Some principles on which you go.  
 What makes a knave a child of God,<sup>7</sup>  
 And one of us ?—A livelihood.  
 What renders beating out of brains, 1265  
 And murder, godliness ?—Great gains.

title ; but as it was uncertain how long these lawless times would last, the poet makes the devils let them only by the year : now when any thing is actually let, we landlords never come there, that is, have excluded ourselves from all right to the premises.

<sup>6</sup> *So are you like to be agen,*

*Compar'd with th' angels of us men.*] I remember an old attorney, who told me, a little before his death, that he had been reckoned a very great rascal, and believed he was so, for he had done many roguish and infamous things in his profession : “ but,” adds he, “ by what I can observe of the rising generation, the time may come, and you may live to see it, when I shall be accounted a very honest man, in comparison with those attorneys who are to succeed me.”

<sup>7</sup> *What makes a knave a child of God,*] A banter on the pamphlets in those days, under the name and form of catechisms : Heylin's *Rebel's Catechism*, Watson's *Cavalier Catechism*, Ram's *Soldiers Catechism*, Parker's *Political Catechism*, &c. &c.

<sup>8</sup> *And one of us ?—*] Both presbyterians and independents were fond of saying *one of us* ; that is, one of the holy brethren, the elect number, the godly party.

What's tender conscience?—'Tis a botch  
That will not bear the gentlest touch;  
But, breaking out, dispatches more  
Than th' epidemical'st plague-sore.<sup>9</sup> 1270

What makes y' encroach upon our trade,  
And damn all others?—To be paid.

What's orthodox and true believing  
Against a conscience?—A good living.<sup>1</sup>

What makes rebelling against kings 1275  
A good old cause?—Administ'rings.<sup>2</sup>

What makes all doctrines plain and clear?—  
About two hundred pounds a year.

And that which was prov'd true before,  
Prov'd false again?—Two hundred more. 1280

What makes the breaking of all oaths  
A holy duty?—Food and clothes.

<sup>9</sup> *But, breaking out, dispatches more*

*Than th' epidemical'st plague-sore.*] Alluding to the plague, of which, in our author's time, viz. in 1665, died 68,586 persons, within the bills of mortality.

<sup>1</sup> — *A good living.*] A committee was appointed November 11, 1646, to inquire into the value of all church-livings, in order to plant an able ministry, as was pretended; but, in truth, to discover the best and fattest benefices, that the champions for the cause might choose for themselves. Whereof some had three or four a-piece; a lack being pretended of competent pastors. When a living was small, the church doors were shut up. Dugdale's Short View. "I could name an assembly-man," says sir William Dugdale, "who being told by an eminent person, that a certain church had no incumbent, enquired the value of it; and receiving for answer that it was about £50. a year, he said, 'if it be no better worth, 'no godly man will accept it.'"

<sup>2</sup> *What makes rebelling against kings*

*A good old cause?—Administ'rings.*] See P. iii. c. ii. v. 55.

*We neither know, nor care to do.]* The author shews his abhorrence of vice, in whatever party it was found, by satirizing the loose principles of the cavaliers.

What's liberty of conscience,  
I th' natural and genuine sense?—

'Tis to restore, with more security, 1305  
Rebellion to its ancient purity ;

And Christian liberty reduce  
To th' elder practice of the jews ;  
For a large conscience is all one,  
And signifies the same with none.\* 1310

It is enough, quoth he; for once,  
And has repriev'd thy forfeit bones :  
Nick Machiavel had ne'er a trick,  
Tho' he gave his name to our old Nick,'

\* *For a large conscience is all one,*

*And signifies the same with none.*] It is reported of Judge Jefferys, that taking a dislike to a witness who had a long beard, he told him that, " if his conscience was as long as his beard, he had a " swinging one : " to which the countryman replied, " My lord, if " you measure conscience by beards, you yourself have none at all."

*' Nick Machiavel had ne'er a trick,*

*Tho' he gave his name to our old Nick,*] Machiavel was recorder of Florence in the 16th century, an eminent historian, and consummate politician. In a note on the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and in Dr. Grey's edition of *Hudibras*, Mr. Warburton has altered this passage. He reads the last line :

Though he gave *aim* to our old Nick.

But as all the editions published by the author himself, or in the author's life-time, have the word *name*, I am unwilling to change it. Mr. Butler, who seems well versed in the Saxon and northern etymologies, could not be ignorant, that the terms *nicka*, *nocca*, *nicken*, and from thence the English, *old nick*, were used to signify the devil, long before the time of Machiavel. A malignant spirit is named *old nicka*, in sir William Temple's *Essay on Poetry*. [*Necken*, dæmon aquaticus. Dan. *nicken*. *nocken*. Germ. *nicks*. L. B. *nocca*. Isl. *nikur*. Angl. *nick*. Belg. *necker*. Putatur in fluviis et lacubus residere, et natantes per pedes arreptos ad se pertrahere.—Ihre Gloss.



But was below the least of these, 1315  
 That pass i' th' world, for holiness.  
 This said, the furies and the light  
 In th' instant vanish'd out of sight.  
 And left him in the dark alone,  
 With stinks of brimstone and his own. 1320  
 The queen of night, whose large command  
 Rules all the sea, and half the land,<sup>s</sup>  
 And over moist and crazy brains,  
 In high spring-tides, at midnight reigns,<sup>o</sup>  
 Was now declining to the west, 1325  
 To go to bed and take her rest ;<sup>1</sup>

[Suiogothicum.] When Machiavel is represented as such a proficient in wickedness, that his name hath become no unworthy appellation for the devil himself, we are not less entertained by the smartness of the sentiment, than we should be, if it were firmly supported by the truth of history. In the second canto, Empedocles is said to have been acquainted with the writings of Alexander Ross, who did not live till about 2000 years after him. An humorous kind of wit, in which the droll genius of Butler does not scruple to indulge itself.

<sup>s</sup> *The queen of night, whose large command*

*Rules all the sea, and half the land,]* The moon, which influences the tides and motions of the sea, and half mankind, who are lunatic, more or less.

Nunc terram potius quam mare luna regit.

Owen. Epig. 90.

The poem had now occupied two days, and almost two nights.

<sup>o</sup> *And over moist and crazy brains,*

*In high spring-tides, at midnight reigns,]* Insane persons are supposed to be worst at the change and full of the moon, when the tides are highest.

<sup>1</sup> *Was now declining to the west,*

*To go to bed and take her rest ;]* He had before described the approach of day by the rising of the sun : he now employs the setting of the moon for that purpose.

When Hudibras, whose stubborn blows  
 Deny'd his bones that soft repose,<sup>a</sup>  
 Lay still expecting worse and more,  
 Stretch'd out at length upon the floor; 1330  
 And tho' he shut his eyes as fast  
 As if he 'ad been to sleep his last,  
 Saw all the shapes that fear or wizards,  
 Do make the devil wear for vizards,<sup>b</sup>  
 And pricking up his ears, to hark 1335  
 If he could hear, too, in the dark,  
 Was first invaded with a groan,  
 And after, in a feeble tone,  
 These trembling words: Unhappy wretch,  
 What hast thou gotten by this fetch, 1340  
 Or all thy tricks, in this new trade,  
 Thy holy brotherhood o' th' blade?<sup>c</sup>

- <sup>a</sup> *When Hudibras, whose stubborn blows  
 Deny'd his bones that soft repose,]*

Lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum.  
 At non infelix animi Phœnissa; neque unquam  
 Solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem  
 Accipit: ingeminant curæ. Æneid. iv. 528.

- <sup>b</sup> *Saw all the shapes that fear or wizards,  
 Do make the devil wear for vizards,]* It may be amusing to compare this burlesque with the serious sublime of Milton. *Paradise Lost*, ii. 625:

— all monstrous, all prodigious things,  
 Abominable, unutterable, and worse  
 Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,  
 Gorgons and hydras, and chimæras dire.

- <sup>c</sup> *Or all thy tricks, in this new trade,  
 Thy holy brotherhood o' th' blade?]* This religious knight-errantry: this search after trifling offences, with intent to punish

By sauntering still on some adventure,  
 And growing to thy horse a centaur ?  
 To stuff thy skin with swelling knobs      1345  
 Of cruel and hard-wooded drubs ?  
 For still thou 'st had the worst on 't yet,  
 As well in conquest as defeat :  
 Night is the sabbath of mankind,  
 To rest the body and the mind,<sup>a</sup>      1350  
 Which now thou art deny'd to keep,  
 And cure thy labour'd corpse with sleep.

them as crying sins. Ralpho, who now supposed himself alone, see Part iii. canto iii. v. 89, vents his sorrows in this soliloquy, or exhortation, which is so artfully worded, as equally to suit his own case, and the knight's, and to censure the conduct of both. Hence the latter applies the whole as meant and directed to himself, and comments upon it accordingly to v. 1400, after which the squire improves on his master's mistake, and counterfeits the ghost in earnest. Compare Part iii. c. iii. v. 151-158. This seems to have been Butler's meaning, though not readily to be collected from his words : his readers are left in the dark almost as much as his heroes. Bishop Warburton supposes that the term *holy brotherhood* alludes to the society instituted in Spain, called La Santa Hermandad, employed in detecting and apprehending thieves and robbers, and executing other parts of the police. See them frequently mentioned in Don Quixote, Gil Blas, &c.

<sup>a</sup> *Night is the sabbath of mankind,*

*To rest the body and the mind,*] Plutarch thus addresses the superstitious person : " Heaven gave us sleep, as a relief and respite from our affliction. Why will you convert this gift into a painful instrument of torture ; and a durable one too, since there is no other sleep for your soul to flee too. Heraclitus says, that to men who are awake there is a common world ; but every one who sleeps is in a world of his own. Yet not even in sleep is the superstitious man released from his troubles : his reason indeed slumbers, but his fears are ever awake, and he can neither escape from them, nor dislodge them." De Superstitione.

The Knight, who heard the words, explain'd  
 As meant to him this reprimand,  
 Because the character did hit 1355  
 Point-blank upon his case so fit ;  
 Believ'd it was some drolling spright  
 That staid upon the guard that night,  
 And one of those he' ad seen, and felt  
 The drubs he had so freely dealt ; 1360  
 When, after a short pause and groan,  
 The doleful Spirit thus went on :

This 'tis t'engage with dogs and bears  
 Pellmell together by the ears,  
 And after painful bangs and knocks, 1365  
 To lie in limbo in the stocks,  
 And from the pinnacle of glory  
 Fall headlong into purgatory ;

Thought he, this devil's full of malice,  
 That on my late disasters rallies, 1370  
 Condemn'd to whipping, but declin'd it,  
 By being more heroic-minded ;  
 And at a riding handled worse,  
 With treats more slovenly and coarse ;<sup>a</sup>  
 Engag'd with fiends in stubborn wars, 1375  
 And hot disputes with conjurers :  
 And, when thou 'adst bravely won the day,  
 Wast fain to steal thyself away.

I see, thought he, this shameless elf  
 Would fain steal me too from myself, 1380

<sup>a</sup> *And at a riding handled worse,  
 With treats more slovenly and coarse ;*] This shews the meaning  
 of the riding dispensation, l. 124.

That impudently dares to own  
 What I have suffer'd for and done ;  
 And now, but vent'ring to betray,  
 Hast met with vengeance the same way.

Thought he, how does the devil know 1385  
 What 'twas that I design'd to do ?  
 His office of intelligence,  
 His oracles, are ceas'd long since ;  
 And he knows nothing of the saints,  
 But what some treach'rous spy acquaints. 1390  
 This is some pettifogging fiend,  
 Some under doorkeeper's friend's friend,  
 That undertakes to understand,  
 And juggles at the second-hand,  
 And now would pass for spirit Po,<sup>7</sup> 1395  
 And all men's dark concerns foreknow.  
 I think I need not fear him for 't ;  
 These rallying devils do no hurt.  
 With that he rous'd his drooping heart,  
 And hastily cry'd out, What art ?— 1400  
 A wretch, quoth he, whom want of grace  
 Has brought to this unhappy place.

<sup>7</sup> *And now would pass for spirit Po,*] Po, or Bo, the son of Odin, was a fierce Gothic captain, whose name was repeated by his soldiers to surprise or frighten their enemies. See sir William Temple's fourth essay. [Mr. Todd says, the northern Captain will suffer no great loss, if the etymology be transferred from his redoubted name to the Dutch *bauw*, a spectre ; but probably Minsheu gives the clue to this most grave etymology when, after a *bugge*, a bugbear, he says Belgic, Bietebauw, Beetebauw, a bijten, i. mordere, et bauw, i. vox fictitia à sono quo solent infantes territare.]

I do believe thee, quoth the Knight ;  
 Thus far I'm sure thou'rt in the right ;  
 And know what 'tis that troubles thee, 1405  
 Better than thou hast guess'd of me.  
 Thou art some paltry, blackguard spright,  
 Condemn'd to drudg'ry in the night ;  
 Thou hast no work to do in th' house,  
 Nor halfpenny to drop in shoes ;\* 1410  
 Without the raising of which sum  
 You dare not be so troublesome  
 To pinch the slatterns black and blue,  
 For leaving you their work to do.  
 This is your bus'ness, good Pug-Robin, 1415  
 And for your diversion dull dry bobbing,†

\* *Nor halfpenny to drop in shoes;*] Servant-maids were told, if they left the house clean when they went to bed, they would find money in their shoes ; if dirty, they would be pinched in their sleep. Thus the old ballad of Robin Goodfellow, who perhaps was the sprite meant by Pug Robin :

When house or hearth doth sluttish lie,  
 I pinch the maids both black and blue :  
 And from the bed, the bed-cloths I  
 Pull off, and lay them nak'd to view.

Again, speaking of fairies :

Such sort of creatures as would bast ye  
 A kitchen wench, for being nasty :  
 But if she neatly scour her pewter,  
 Give her the money that is due to her.  
 Every night before we goe,  
 We drop a tester in her shoe.

See also Parnell and Shakspeare, in many places.

† *This is your bus'ness, good Pug-Robin,*

*And your diversion dull dry bobbing,]* Robin Goodfellow, in the creed of ancient superstition, was a kind of merry sprite, whose character and atchievements are frequently recorded, particularly in

T<sup>e</sup> entice fanatics in the dirt,  
 And wash 'em clean in ditches for 't;<sup>1</sup>  
 Of which conceit you are so proud,  
 At ev'ry jest you laugh aloud, 1420  
 As now you would have done by me,  
 But that I barr'd your raillery.

Sir, quoth the voice, ye're no such sophy<sup>2</sup>  
 As you would have the world judge of ye.  
 If you design to weigh our talents 1425  
 I' th' standard of your own false balance,

the well known lines of Milton. In an ancient ballad, entitled Robin Goodfellow:

From hag-bred Merlin's time have I  
 Thus nightly revell'd to and fro,  
 And for my pranks men call me by  
 The name of Robin Goodfellow;  
 Fiends, ghosts, and sprights,  
 Who haunt the nightes,  
 The hags and goblins do me know,  
 And beldames old  
 My feates have told,  
 So vale, vale, ho, ho, ho.

[*Puck, Pug, Pouke*; a fiend. *Puke*, Diabolus. Ihre Gloss. Suigothicum.]

*Bobbing*, that is, mocking, jesting with. *Dry bobbing*, a dry jest, or bob: illusio, dictionum.

<sup>1</sup> *T<sup>e</sup> entice fanatics in the dirt,*

*And wash 'em clean in ditches for 't;]* See Hoffman's *Lexicon*, iii. 306. sub voc. Neptunus (ex Gervas. Tilleberiens.) dæmonis quoddam genus, Angli Portunos nominant. Portunus nonnunquam invisus equitanti se copulat, et cum diutius comitatur, eundem tandem loris arreptis equum in lutum ad manum ducit, in quo dum infixus volutatur, protinus exiens cachinnum facit, et sic hujus modi ludibrio humanam simplicitatem deridet.

<sup>2</sup> *Sir, quoth the voice, ye're no such sophy]* You are no such wise person, or sophister, from the Greek σοφός.

Or think it possible to know  
 Us ghosts, as well as we do you,  
 We who have been the everlasting  
 Companions of your drubs and basting, 1430  
 And never left you in contest,  
 With male or female, man or beast,  
 But prov'd as true t' ye, and entire,  
 In all adventures, as your Squire.

Quoth he, That may be said as true 1435  
 By th' idlest pug of all your crew ;  
 For none could have betray'd us worse  
 Than those allies of ours and yours.<sup>3</sup>  
 But I have sent him for a token  
 To your low-country Hogen-Mogen, 1440  
 To whose infernal shores I hope  
 He'll swing like skippers in a rope :  
 And if ye 've been more just to me  
 As I am apt to think, than he,  
 I am afraid it is as true 1445  
 What th' ill-affected say of you :  
 Ye 've 'spous'd the covenant and cause,  
 By holding up your cloven paws.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *For none could have betray'd us worse*

*Than those allies of ours and yours.*] Meaning the independents, or Ralpho, whom he says he had sent to the infernal Hogen Mogen, high and mighty, or the devil, supposing he would be hung.

<sup>4</sup> *Ye 've 'spous'd the covenant and cause,*

*By holding up your cloven paws.*] When persons took the covenant, they attested their obligation to observe its principles by lifting up their hands to heaven : the covenant here means the solemn league and covenant, framed by the Scots, and adopted by the



Sir, quoth the Voice, 'tis true, I grant,<sup>5</sup>  
 We made, and took the covenant : 1450  
 But that no more concerns the cause,  
 Than other perj'ries do the laws,  
 Which, when they're prov'd in open court,  
 Wear wooden peccadillos for't :<sup>6</sup>  
 And that's the reason cov'nanters 1455  
 Hold up their hands, like rogues at bars.<sup>7</sup>  
 I see, quoth Hudibras, from whence  
 These scandals of the saints commence,<sup>8</sup>

English, ordered to be read in all churches, and every person was bound to give his consent, by holding up his hand at the reading of it. See Clarendon's History. South, in his fifth volume of Sermons, p. 74, says : " their very posture of taking the covenant was an " ominous mark of its intent, and their holding up their hands was " a sign that they were ready to strike." See line 485 of this canto. The solemn league and covenant has by many been compared to the holy league, entered into by a large party in France, in the reigns of Charles IX. Henry III. and Henry IV. See this parallel carried on by Dugdale, in his State of the Troubles in England, p. 600.

<sup>5</sup> *Sir, quoth the voice, 'tis true, I grant,*] Ralpho, the supposed sprite, allows that they, the devil and the independents, had engaged in the covenant; but he insists that the violation of it was not at all prejudicial to the cause they had undertaken, and for which it was framed.

<sup>6</sup> *Wear wooden peccadillos for't :*] A peccadillo was a stiff piece worn round the neck and shoulders, to pin the ruff or band to. Ludicrously it means the pillory.

<sup>7</sup> *Hold up their hands, like rogues at bars.*] In some editions we read *held up*.

<sup>8</sup> *These scandals of the saints commence,*] The scandalous reflections on the saints, such as your charging the covenant with perjury, and making the covenanter no better than a rogue at the bar.

That are but natural effects  
 Of Satan's malice, and his sects', 1460  
 Those spider-saints, that hang by threads  
 Spun out o' th' entrails of their heads.

Sir, quoth the Voice, that may as true<sup>o</sup>  
 And properly be said of you,  
 Whose talents may compare with either,<sup>1</sup> 1465  
 Or both the other put together :  
 For all the independents do,  
 Is only what you forc'd 'em to ;  
 You, who are not content alone  
 With tricks to put the devil down, 1470  
 But must have armies rais'd to back  
 The gospel-work you undertake ;  
 As if artillery and edge-tools,  
 Were th' only engines to save souls :  
 While he, poor devil, has no pow'r<sup>2</sup> 1475  
 By force, to run down and devour ;  
 Has ne'er a classis, cannot sentence  
 To stools, or poundage of repentance;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>o</sup> Hudibras having been hard upon Satan, and the independents, the voice undertakes the defence of each, but first of the independents.

<sup>1</sup> *Whose talents may compare with either,*] That is, either with the independents, or with the devil.

<sup>2</sup> *While he, poor devil, has no power*] *He*, that is, the independent, has no power, having no classis, or spiritual jurisdiction.

<sup>3</sup> *Has ne'er a classis, cannot sentence  
 To stools, or poundage of repentance ;*] The poor devil, says Ralpho, cannot thus distress us by open and authorized vexations.

Is ty'd up only to design  
 T' entice, and tempt, and undermine : 1480  
 In which you all his arts outdo,  
 And prove yourselves his betters too.  
 Hence 'tis possessions do less evil  
 Than mere temptations of the devil,<sup>a</sup>  
 Which, all the horrid'st actions done, 1485  
 Are charg'd in courts of law upon ;<sup>b</sup>  
 Because, unless they help the elf,<sup>c</sup>  
 He can do little of himself ;  
 And, therefore, where he's best possess  
 Acts most against his interest ; 1490  
 Surprises none but those who've priests  
 To turn him out, and exorcists,  
 Supply'd with spiritual provision,  
 And magazines of ammunition ;  
 With crosses, relics, crucifixes, 1495  
 Beads, pictures, rosaries, and pixes ;

<sup>a</sup> *Hence 'tis possessions do less evil*

*Than mere temptations of the devil,]* He argues that men who are influenced by the devil, and co-operate with him, commit greater wickedness than he is able to perpetrate by his own agency. We seldom hear, therefore, of his taking an entire possession. The persons who complain most of his doing so, are those who are well furnished with the means of exorcising and ejecting him, such as relics, crucifixes, beads, pictures, rosaries, &c.

<sup>b</sup> *Which, all the horrid'st actions done,*

*Are charg'd in courts of law upon ;]* Not having the fear of God before their eyes, but led by the instigation of the devil, is the form of indictment for felony, murder, or such atrocious crimes.

<sup>c</sup> *Because, unless they help the elf,]* In some editions we read *you* help.

The tools of working our salvation  
 By mere mechanic operation :  
 With holy water, like a sluice,  
 To overflow all avenues : 1500  
 But those who 're utterly unarm'd,  
 T' oppose his entrance, if he storm'd,  
 He never offers to surprise,  
 Altho' his falsest enemies ;<sup>7</sup>  
 But is content to be their drudge, 1505  
 And on their errands glad to trudge :  
 For where are all your forfeitures  
 Intrusted in safe hands, but ours ?  
 Who are but jailors of the holes  
 And dungeons where you clap up souls ;<sup>8</sup> 1510  
 Like underkeepers, turn the keys,  
 T' your mittimus anathemas,  
 And never boggle to restore  
 The members you deliver o'er  
 Upon demand, with fairer justice, 1515  
 Than all your covenanting trustees ;<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *But those who 're utterly unarm'd,*

*T' oppose his entrance if he storm'd,*

*He never offers to surprise,*

*Altho' his falsest enemies ;*] The enthusiasm of the independents  
 was something new in its kind, not much allied to superstition.

<sup>8</sup> *Who are but jailors of the holes*

*And dungeons where you clap up souls ;*] Keep those in hell whom  
 you are pleased to send thither by excommunication, your mittimus  
 or anathema : as jailors and turnkeys confine their prisoners.

<sup>9</sup> *Upon demand, with fairer justice,*

*Than all your covenanting trustees ;*] More honestly than the  
 presbyterians surrendered the estates which they held in trust for

Unless, to punish them the worse,  
 You put them in the secular powers,  
 And pass their souls, as some demise  
 The same estate in mortgage twice : 1520  
 When to a legal utlegation  
 You turn your excommunication,<sup>1</sup>  
 And, for a groat unpaid that's due,  
 Distrain on soul and body too.<sup>2</sup>

Thought he, 'tis no mean part of civil 1525  
 State-prudence to cajole the devil,  
 And not to handle him too rough,  
 When he has us in his cloven hoof.

'Tis true, quoth he, that intercourse  
 Has pass'd between your friends and ours, 1530  
 That, as you trust us, in our way,  
 To raise your members, and to lay,<sup>3</sup>

one another ; these trustees were generally covenanters. See Part i. c. i. v. 76, and P. iii. c. ii. v. 55.

<sup>1</sup> *You put them in the secular powers,  
 And pass their souls, as some demise  
 The same estate in mortgage twice :  
 When to a legal utlegation*

*You turn your excommunication,*] You call down the vengeance of the civil magistrate upon them, and in this second instance pass over, that is, take no notice of their souls : the ecclesiastical courts can excommunicate, and then they apply to the civil court for an outlawry. *Utlegation*, that is, outlawry.

<sup>2</sup> *Distrain on soul and body too.*] Seize the party by a writ de excommunicato capiendo.

<sup>3</sup> — *between your friends and ours,  
 That, as you trust us, in our way,*

*To raise your members, and to lay,*] *Your friends and ours*, that is, you devils and us fanatics : that as you trust us in our way, to raise you devils when we want you, and to lay you again when we have done with you.

We send you others of our own,  
 Denounc'd to hang themselves, or drown,<sup>a</sup>  
 Or, frighted with our oratory, 1535  
 To leap down headlong many a story ;  
 Have us'd all means to propagate  
 Your mighty interests of state,  
 Laid out our sp'ritual gifts to further  
 Your great designs of rage and murther : 1540  
 For if the saints are nam'd from blood,<sup>b</sup>  
 We onl' have made that title good ;<sup>c</sup>  
 And, if it were but in our power,  
 We should not scruple to do more,  
 And not be half a soul behind 1545  
 Of all dissenters of mankind.

Right, quoth the Voice, and, as I scorn  
 To be ungrateful, in return  
 Of all those kind good offices,  
 I'll free you out of this distress, 1550  
 And set you down in safety, where  
 It is no time to tell you here.  
 'The cock crows, and the morn draws on,  
 When 'tis decreed I must be gone ;

<sup>a</sup> *We send you others of our own,*

*Denounc'd to hang themselves, or drown,]* It is probable that the presbyterian doctrine of reprobation had driven some persons to suicide. So did alderman Hoyle, a member of the house. See Birkenhead's Paul's Church Yard.

<sup>b</sup> *For if the saints are nam'd from blood,]* Sanctus, from sanguis, blood.

<sup>c</sup> *We onl' have made that title good ;]* i. e. we fanatics of this island only have merited that title by spilling much blood.

And if I leave you here till day, 1555  
You'll find it hard to get away.

With that the Spirit grop'd about  
To find th' enchanted hero out,  
And try'd with haste to lift him up,  
But found his forlorn hope, his crup,<sup>7</sup> 1560  
Unserviceable with kicks and blows,  
Receiv'd from harden'd-hearted foes.  
He thought to drag him by the heels,  
Like Gresham-carts, with legs for wheels;<sup>8</sup>  
But fear, that soonest cures those sores, 1565  
In danger of relapse to worse,  
Came in t' assist him with its aid,  
And up his sinking vessel weigh'd.  
No sooner was he fit to trudge,  
But both made ready to dislodge; 1570  
The Spirit hors'd him like a sack,  
Upon the vehicle his back,  
And bore him headlong into th' hall,  
With some few rubs against the wall;

<sup>7</sup> *But found his forlorn hope, his crup,*] His back is called his forlorn hope, because that was generally exposed to danger, to save the rest of his body: a reflection on his courage.

<sup>8</sup> *He thought to drag him by the heels,*

*Like Gresham-carts, with legs for wheels;*] Mr. Butler does not forget the Royal Society. March 4, 1662, a scheme of a cart with legs that moved, instead of wheels, was brought before the Royal Society, and referred to the consideration of Mr. Hooke. The inventor was Mr. Potter. Mr. Hooke was ordered to draw up a full description of this cart, which, together with the animadversions upon it, was to be entered in the books of the Society.

Where, finding out the postern lock'd, 1575  
 And th' avenues as strongly block'd,  
 H' attack'd the window, storm'd the glass,  
 And in a moment gain'd the pass ;  
 Thro' which he dragg'd the worsted soldier's  
 Four-quarters out by th' head and shoulders,  
 And cautiously began to scout  
 To find their fellow-cattle out ;  
 Nor was it half a minute's quest,  
 Ere he retriev'd the champion's beast,  
 Ty'd to a pale, instead of rack, 1585  
 But ne'er a saddle on his back,  
 Nor pistols at the saddle bow,  
 Convey'd away, the Lord knows how.  
 He thought it was no time to stay,  
 And let the night too steal away ; 1590  
 But, in a trice, advanc'd the Knight  
 Upon the bare ridge, bolt upright,  
 And, groping out for Ralpho's jade,  
 He found the saddle too was stray'd,  
 And in the place a lump of soap, 1595  
 On which he speedily leap'd up ;  
 And, turning to the gate the rein,  
 He kick'd and cudgell'd on amain ;  
 While Hudibras, with equal haste,  
 On both sides laid about as fast, 1600  
 And spurr'd, as jockies use, to break,  
 Or padders to secure, a neck :<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *And spurr'd, as jockies use, to break,  
 Or padders to secure, a neck :]* Jockies endanger their necks by



Where let us leave 'em for a time,  
 And to their churches turn our rhyme;  
 To hold forth their declining state, 1605  
 Which now come near an even rate.<sup>1</sup>

spurring their horses, and galloping very fast; but highwaymen, or padders, so called from the Saxon *paðþ*, highway, endeavour to save their necks by the same exertions.

<sup>1</sup> *Where let us leave 'em for a time,  
 And to their churches turn our rhyme;  
 To hold forth their declining state,*

*Which now come near an even rate.*] The time now approached when the presbyterians and independents were to fall into equal disgrace, and resemble the doleful condition of the knight and squire.

The two last conversations have much unfolded the views of the confederate sects, and prepare the way for the business of the subsequent canto. Their differences will there be agitated by characters of higher consequence: and their mutual reproaches will again enable the poet to expose the knavery and hypocrisy of each. This was the principal intent of the work. The fable was considered by him only as the vehicle of his satire. And perhaps when he published the first Part, he had no more determined what was to follow in the second, than Tristram Shandy had on a like occasion. The fable itself, the bare outlines of which I conceive to be borrowed, *mutatis mutandis*, from Cervantes, seems here to be brought to a period. The next canto has the form of an episode. The last consists chiefly of two dialogues and two letters. Neither knight nor squire have any further adventures.

**PART III. CANTO II.**

### **THE ARGUMENT.**

**The Saints engage in fierce contests  
About their carnal interests,  
To share their sacrilegious preys  
According to their rates of grace :  
Their various frenzies to reform,  
When Cromwell left them in a storm ;  
Till, in th' effige of Rumps, the rabble  
Burn all their grandees of the cabal.**

# HUDIBRAS.

## CANTO II.<sup>1</sup>

THE learned write, an insect breese  
Is but a mongrel prince of bees,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The different complexion of this canto from the others, and its unconnected state, may be accounted for, by supposing it written on the spur of the occasion, and with a politic view to recommend the author to his friends at court, by a new and fierce attack on the opposite faction, at a time when the real or pretended patriots were daily gaining ground, and the secret views of Charles II. were more and more suspected and dreaded. A short time before the third part of this poem was published, Shaftesbury had ceased to be a minister, and became a furious demagogue. But the canto describes the spirit of parties not long before the Restoration. One object of satire here is to refute, and ridicule the plea of the presbyterians after the Reformation, of having been the principal instruments in bringing back the king. Of this they made a great merit, in the reign of Charles II. and therefore Butler examines it v. 782, et seq.—v. 1029 et seq.—v. 1185—1189 et seq.

The discourses and disputations in this, and the following canto, are long, and fatigue the attention of many readers. If it had not been taking too great a liberty with an author who published his own works, I should certainly have placed this canto last, as it is totally unconnected with the story of the poem, and relates to a time long after the actions of the other cantos.

<sup>2</sup> *The learned write, an insect breese*

*Is but a mongrel prince of bees,*] What the learned, namely, Varro, Virgil, &c. write concerning bees being produced from the putrid bodies of cattle, is here applied by our author to the breese, or gad bee, which is said, by the learned Pliny, in his Natural History, xi. 16, to be *apis grandior quæ cæteras fugat*: hence it may

That falls before a storm on cows,  
 And stings the founders of his house ;  
 From whose corrupted flesh that breed                   5  
 Of vermin did at first proceed.<sup>3</sup>

fairly be styled a prince of bees, yet, but a *mongrel* prince, because not strictly and properly a bee. Varro, in Geasner's edition of *Re Rustica*, iii. 16. says, *primum apes nascuntur partim ex apibus, partim ex bubulo corpore putrefacto. Itaque Archelaus in Epigrammate, ait, eas esse βοδὸς φθιμένης πεποτήμενα τέκνα.* Idem ἵππων μὲν σφήκες γενεὰ, μόσχων δὲ μέλισσαι. The last line, with some variation, is in the *Theriaca* of Nicander. Columella ix. 14. says, the notion of generating bees from an heifer is as old as Democritus, and continued by Mago. Both Philetas and Callimachus called bees *βουγενεῖς*. See Hesych. Virgil, in his fourth *Georgic*, l. 281, says :

Sed si quem proles subito defecerit omnis,  
 Nec, genus unde novæ stirpis revocetur, habebit ;  
 Tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magistri  
 Pandere, quoque modo cæsis jam sæpe juvenis  
 Insincerus apes tulerit cruor.

For the effect the Oestron has on cattle, see Virg. *Georg.* iii. 146 et seq. "On the backs of cows," says Mr. Derham, "in the summer months, there are maggots generated, which in Essex we call weovils; which are first only small knots in the skin, and, I suppose, no other than eggs laid there by some insect. By degrees these knots grow bigger, and contain in them a maggot, which may be squeezed out at a hole they have always open." Mr. Derham could never discover what animal they turn to. I doubt not but it is to this gad-fly or breese; and that their stinging the cows is not only to suck their blood, but to perforate the skin for the sake of laying their eggs within it.

<sup>3</sup> *From whose corrupted flesh, that breed*

*Of vermin did at first proceed.*] They may proceed from the flesh of cows in the manner above mentioned, that is, as from the *place* in which they are bred, but not from the *matter* out of which they are generated. The note on this passage, in the old edition, together with many others, convince me that the annotations on the third part of *Hudibras* could not be written by Butler.

So, ere the storm of war broke out,  
 Religion spawn'd a various rout<sup>4</sup>  
 Of petulant capricious sects,  
 The maggots of corrupted texts,<sup>5</sup> 10  
 That first run all religion down,  
 And after ev'ry swarm its own :  
 For as the Persian Magi once  
 Upon their mothers got their sons,  
 That were incapable t' enjoy 15  
 That empire any other way ;<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Religion spawn'd a various rout*] No less than 180 errors and heresies were propagated in the city of London, as Mr. Case told the parliament, in his thanksgiving sermon, for the taking of Chester.

<sup>5</sup> *The maggots of corrupted texts,*] The independents were charged with altering a text of Scripture, (Acts vi. 3.) in order to authorize them to appoint their own ministers. "Therefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom *we* may appoint over this business." Mr. Field is said to have printed *ye* instead of *we* in several editions, and particularly in his beautiful folio edition of 1659, and the octavo of 1661. Dr. Grey says, he had heard that the first printer of this forgery received £1500. for it. This mistake the Doctor was led into by Dr. Wotton, but he very handsomely corrects it in his Supplement. The erratum of the press, for such it seems to have been, being a mistake only of a single letter, was observed first in that printed at Cambridge by Buck and Daniel, 1638, folio, so that it is falsely said by several writers, that this forgery crept into the text in the time of the usurpation, and during the reign of independency. See Lewis's History of the English Translations of the Bible, p. 340, and J. Berriman's Critical Dissertation on 1 Tim. iii. 16, p. 52. But corrupted texts allude rather to false interpretations than to false readings.

<sup>6</sup> *For as the Persian Magi once  
 Upon their mothers got their sons,  
 That were incapable t' enjoy  
 That empire any other way;*] "It was from this time, viz. about

So presbyter begot the other<sup>7</sup>  
 Upon the good old cause, his mother,  
 That bore them like the devil's dam,<sup>8</sup>  
 Whose son and husband are the same; 20

" 521 years before Christ, that they first had the name of Magians, " which signifying the crop-ear'd, it was then given unto them by " way of nick-name and contempt, because of the impostor (Smerdis) " who was then cropt: for Mige-Gush signified, in the language of " the country then in use, one that had his ears cropped." Prideaux' Connection. From hence, perhaps, might come the proverb, " Who. " made you a conjuror and did not crop your ears." Catullus says:

Nam magus ex matre et gnato gignatur oportet,  
 Si vera est Persarum impia relligio. lxxxvii. 3.

Ovid says:

gentes esse feruntur  
 In quibus et nato genitrix, et nata parenti  
 Jungitur, et pietas geminato crescit amore.

Πέρσαι δὲ, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ σοφίαν ἀσκεῖν δοκοῦντες οἱ μάγοι,  
 γαμοῦσι τὰς μητέρας.

Sext. Emp. Pyrrhon. Hypotypos. lib. iii. c. 24.

The poet cannot mean the *Persian empire*, which was only in the hands of the Magi for a few months; but he must intend the office of Archimagus, or the presidency of the Magi, which he was best entitled to who was in this manner begotten. Zoroaster, the first institutor of the sect, allowed of incestuous marriages: he maintained the doctrine of a good and bad principle; the former was worshipped under the emblem of fire, which they kept constantly burning.

<sup>7</sup> *So presbyter begot the other*] The presbyterians first broke down the pale of order and discipline, and so made way for the independents and every other sect.

<sup>8</sup> *That bore them like the devil's dam,*] This is not the first time we have heard of the devil's mother. In Wolfii Memorabilia, is a quotation from Erasmus: " Si tu es diabolus, ego sum mater illius." And in the Agamemnon of Æschylus, Cassandra, after loading Clytemnestra with every opprobrious name she can think of, calls her *ἄδον μητέρα*. The translator of Hudibras into French, remarks in a note, that this passage alludes to some lines in the second book of Milton's Paradise Lost, in the description of Sin and Death.

And yet no nat'ral tie of blood,  
 Nor int'rest for the common good,  
 Could, when their profits interfer'd,  
 Get quarter for each other's beard :<sup>1</sup>  
 For when they thriv'd they never fadg'd,<sup>1</sup> 25  
 But only by the ears engag'd ;  
 Like dogs that snarl about a bone,  
 And play together when they've none ;  
 As by their truest characters,  
 Their constant actions, plainly appears. 30  
 Rebellion now began, for lack  
 Of zeal and plunder, to grow slack ;  
 The cause and covenant to lessen,  
 And providence to b' out of season :  
 For now there was no more to purchase 35  
 O' th' king's revenue, and the churches,  
 But all divided, shar'd, and gone,  
 That us'd to urge the brethren on ;  
 Which forc'd the stubborn'st for the cause  
 To cross the cudgels to the laws,<sup>2</sup> 40  
 That what by breaking them they 'ad gain'd  
 By their support might be maintain'd ;

<sup>1</sup> *Get quarter for each other's beard :*] When the presbyterians prevailed, Calamy, being asked what he would do with the anabaptists, antinomians, and others, replied, that he would not meddle with their consciences, but only with their bodies and estates.

<sup>1</sup> *For when they thriv'd they never fadg'd,*] That is, never agreed ; from the Teutonic, *fugen*. See Skinner. The same word is used v. 256.

<sup>2</sup> *To cross the cudgels to the laws,*] Cudgels across one another denote a challenge: to cross the cudgels to the laws, is to offer to fight in defence of them.



Like thieves, that in a hemp-plot lie,  
 Secur'd against the hue-and-cry.<sup>3</sup>  
 For presbyter and independent 45  
 Were now turn'd plaintiff and defendant,  
 Laid out their apostolic functions  
 On carnal orders and injunctions ;  
 And all their precious gifts and graces  
 On outlawries and scire facias ; 50  
 At Michael's term had many a trial,  
 Worse than the dragon and St. Michael,  
 Where thousands fell, in shape of fees,  
 Into the bottomless abyss.  
 For when, like brethren, and like friends, 55  
 They came to share their dividends,<sup>4</sup>  
 And ev'ry partner to possess  
 His church and state joint-purchases,  
 In which the ablest saint, and best,

<sup>3</sup> *Like thieves, that in a hemp-plot lie, Secur'd against the hue-and-cry.* ] It may mean a plat of growing hemp, which being a thick cover, a rogue may lie concealed therein, secure from all discovery of hue and cry : " thus," says Butler in his *Remains*, vol. ii. p. 384, " he shelters himself under the cover of " the law, like a thief in a hemp-plot, and makes that secure him, " which was intended for his destruction."

<sup>4</sup> *For when, like brethren, and like friends, They came to share their dividends,* ] About the year 1649, when the estates of the King and Church were sold, great arrears were due to the army : for the discharge of which some of the lands were allotted, and whole regiments joined together in the manner of a corporation. The distribution afterwards was productive of many law-suits, the person whose name was put in trust often claiming the whole, or a larger share than he was entitled to.

Was nam'd in trust by all the rest, 60  
To pay their money, and instead  
Of ev'ry brother, pass the deed ;  
He strait converted all his gifts  
To pious frauds and holy shifts,  
And settled all the other shares<sup>a</sup> 65  
Upon his outward man and's heirs ;  
Held all they claim'd as forfeit lands  
Deliver'd up into his hands,  
And pass'd upon his conscience  
By pre-entail of Providence ; 70  
Impeach'd the rest for reprobates,  
That had no titles to estates,  
But by their spiritual attaints  
Degraded from the right of saints.  
This b'ing reveal'd, they now begun 75  
With law and conscience to fall on,  
And laid about as hot and brain-sick  
As th' utter barrister of Swanswick ;<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *And settled all the other shares*] Perhaps a better reading would be, as in some editions, *others* shares.

<sup>c</sup> *As th' utter barrister of Swanswick ;*] William Prynne, before mentioned, born at Swanswick, in Somersetshire, and barrister of Lincoln's Inn. The poet calls him hot and brainsick, because he was a restless and turbulent man. Whitelock calls him the busy Mr. Prynne, which title he gives him on occasion of his joining with one Walker in prosecuting colonel Fiennes, for the surrender of Bristol. Walker had been present at the siege, and had lost a good fortune by the surrender but Prynne (he tells us) was no otherwise concerned than out of the pragmatism of his temper. There was an especial reason for his being called the *utter* barrister, for when he was censured by the court of Star-chamber, he was ordered

Engag'd with money bags, as bold  
 As men with sand-bags did of old,<sup>7</sup> 80  
 That brought the lawyers in more fees  
 Than all unsanctify'd trustees;<sup>8</sup>  
 Till he who had no more to show  
 I' th' case, received the overthrow;

(besides other punishments) to be discarded; and afterwards he was voted again by the house of commons to be restored to his place, and practice as an *utter* barrister; a term which signifies a pleader within the bar, but who is not king's counsel or serjeant.

<sup>7</sup> *As men with sand-bags did of old,*] Bishop Warburton says: "when the combat was demanded in a legal way by knights and gentlemen, it was fought with sword and lance; and when by yeomen, with sand-bags fastened to the end of a truncheon:" see Shakspeare, the second part of Henry VI. "Pugiles sacculis non veritate pugilantes," made a part of the procession, when Gallienus celebrated the decennialia of his accession to the empire. (Treb. Pollio in Gallien. p. 178. ed. Paris, 1620.) Casaubon's note is, "Qui incruento pugilatu volebant dimicare, saccis non coestibus manus muniebant. Aiunt autem hi sacci vel tomento facti, vel alia re pleni, quæ gravem ictum non redderent: puta, ficorûm granis, vel farina, vel furfuribus: interdum et arenâ sacculos implebant." Chrysostomus homiliâ 20 in Epistol. ad Hebræos, οὐκ ὁρᾷς τοὺς ἀθλήτας πῶς θυλάκους ἄμμου πλήσαντες οὕτω γυμνάζονται. See the same thought repeated in Butler's *Genuine Remains*, vol. i. p. 83 and 379, and vol. ii. 316. Sand-bags in more modern history were really dangerous weapons; they became instruments of the executioner. C'est une invention des Italiens pour tuer un homme sans repandre de sang, de le frapper rudement sur le dos avec des sachets remplis de sable. Les meurtrisseurs en sont incurables: la gangrene s'y met; et la mort acheve le meurtre. The Spaniards are said to have employed this mode of revenge to destroy Boccacini. (Melanges par Vigneul Marville, vol. i. p. 11.)

<sup>8</sup> *That brought the lawyers in more fees,*

*Than all unsanctify'd trustees;*] The lawyers got more fees from the presbyterians, or saints, who in general were trustees for the sequestered lands, than from all other trustees, who were unsanctified. See v. 69, 60.

Or, both sides having had the worst,  
 They parted as they met at first.  
 Poor presbyter was now reduc'd,  
 Secluded, and cashier'd, and chous'd !<sup>a</sup>  
 Turn'd out, and excommunicate  
 From all affairs of church and state, 90  
 Reform'd t' a reformado saint,<sup>1</sup>  
 And glad to turn itinerant,  
 To stroll and teach from town to town,  
 And those he had taught up, teach down,<sup>2</sup>  
 And make those uses serve agen<sup>3</sup> 95  
 Against the new-enlighten'd men,<sup>4</sup>  
 As fit as when at first they were  
 Reveal'd against the cavalier ;  
 Damn anabaptist and fanatic,  
 As pat as popish and prelatie ; 100

<sup>a</sup> *Poor presbyter was now reduc'd,*

*Secluded, and cashier'd, and chous'd !]* When Oliver Cromwell, with the army and the independents, had gotten the upper hand, they deprived the presbyterians of all power and authority : and before the king was brought to his trial, the presbyterian members were excluded from the house.

<sup>1</sup> *Reform'd t' a reformado saint,]* That is, to a volunteer without office, pay, or commission.

<sup>2</sup> *And those he had taught up, teach down,]* Poor presbyter, or the presbyterians were glad to teach down the independents, whom as brethren and friends (v. 55) they had indiscriminately taught up ; the unhinging doctrines of the presbyterians having, in the long-run, hoisted up the independents in direct opposition to themselves.

<sup>3</sup> *And make those uses serve agen,]* The sermons of those times were divided into doctrine and use : and in the margin of them is often printed *use* the first, *use* the second, &c.

<sup>4</sup> *Against the new-enlighten'd men,]* That is, against the independents.

And with as little variation,  
 To serve for any sect i' th' nation.  
 The good old cause, which some believe  
 To be the dev'l that tempted Eve  
 With knowledge, and does still invite 105  
 The world to mischief with new light,  
 Had store of money in her purse,  
 When he took her for better or worse,  
 But now was grown deform'd and poor,  
 And fit to be turn'd out of door. 110

The independents, whose first station  
 Was in the rear of reformation,  
 A mongrel kind of church-dragoons,<sup>5</sup>  
 That serv'd for horse and foot at once,  
 And in the saddle of one steed 115  
 The Saracen and christian rid ;<sup>6</sup>  
 Were free of ev'ry spiritual order,  
 To preach, and fight, and pray, and murder,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *A mongrel kind of church-dragoons,*] Many of the independent officers, such as Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, &c., used to pray and preach publicly, and many hours together. The sermon printed under the name of Oliver Cromwell is well known to be a forgery. See Granger, Art. Oliver Cromwell.

<sup>6</sup> *The Saracen and christian rid ;*] Mr. Walker, in his History of Independency, says, "the independents were a composition of Jew, "Christian, and Turk."

<sup>7</sup> *Were free of ev'ry spiritual order,*

*To preach, and fight, and pray, and murder,*] *To preach*, has a reference to the Dominicans ; to *fight*, to the knights of Malta ; to *pray*, to the fathers of the Oratory ; to *murther*, to the jesuits : of the latter, Oldham, Sat. i. speaks as

In each profounder art of killing bred :  
 and in Sat. iii.

Slight of murder of the subtlest shape.

No sooner got the start, to lurch,\*  
 Both disciplines of war and church, 120  
 And providence enough to run  
 The chief commanders of them down,  
 But carry'd on the war against  
 The common enemy o' th' saints,  
 And in a while prevail'd so far, 125  
 To win of them the game of war,  
 And be at liberty once more  
 T' attack themselves as they 'ad before.  
 For now there was no foe in arms  
 T' unite their factions with alarms, 130  
 But all reduc'd and overcome,  
 Except their worst, themselves at home,  
 Who 'ad compass'd all th' pray'd, and swore,  
 And fought, and preach'd, and plunder'd for,  
 Subdu'd the nation, church and state, 135  
 And all things but their laws and hate ; \*

But the independents assumed to themselves the privilege of every order : they preached, they fought, they prayed, they murdered. Sir Roger L'Estrange says, in the reflection on one of his fables, that the independents did not take one step in the whole track of their iniquity, without *seeking* the Lord first, and going up to enquire of the Lord first, according to the cant of those days. For further account of the independents, see Walker's History : the first part of which was published 1648, the second in 1649, and the third written in the Tower, where he was sent by Cromwell for writing it, 1651.

\* *No sooner got the start, to lurch,*] That is, to swallow up, to obtain fraudently. See Skinner and Junius.

\* *And all things but their laws and hate ;*] That is, the laws of the land, and hatred of the people.

But when they came to treat and transact,  
 And share the spoil of all they 'ad ransackt,  
 To botch up what they 'ad torn and rent,  
 Religion and the government, 140  
 They meet no sooner, but prepar'd,  
 To pull down all the war had spar'd ;  
 Agreed in nothing, but t' abolish,  
 Subvert, extirpate, and demolish :  
 For knaves and fools b'ing near of kin, 145  
 As Dutch boors are t' a sooterkin,<sup>1</sup>  
 Both parties join'd to do their best  
 To damn the public interest,  
 And herded only in consults,<sup>2</sup>  
 To put by one another's bolts ; 150  
 T' outcant the Babylonian labourers,  
 At all their dialects of jabberers,  
 And tug at both ends of the saw,  
 To tear down government and law.  
 For as two cheats, that play one game, 155  
 Are both defeated of their aim ;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *As Dutch boors are t' a sooterkin,*] A reflection upon the Dutch women, for their use of hand-stoves, which they frequently put under their petticoats, and from whence they are said to produce sooterkins with their children. Mr. James Howel in his letters calls it a Zucchie, and says "it is likest a bat of any creature." But Cleveland, p. 103, says, "not unlike to a rat."

<sup>2</sup> *And herded only in consults,*] That is, both parties were intimately united together.

<sup>3</sup> *For as two cheats, that play one game,  
Are both defeated of their aim ;*] For as when two cheats, equally masters of the very same tricks, are both by that circumstance defeated of their aim, namely to impose upon each other, so those well

So those who play a game of state,<sup>4</sup>  
 And only cavil in debate,  
 Altho' there's nothing lost nor won,  
 The public bus'ness is undone, 160  
 Which still the longer 'tis in doing,  
 Becomes the surer way to ruin.

This when the royalists perceiv'd,<sup>5</sup>  
 Who to their faith as firmly cleav'd,  
 And own'd the right they had paid down 165  
 So dearly for, the church and crown,  
 Th' united constanter, and sided  
 The more, the more their foes divided :  
 For tho' outnumber'd, overthrown,  
 And by the fate of war run down, 170  
 Their duty never was defeated,  
 Nor from their oaths and faith retreated ;  
 For loyalty is still the same,  
 Whether it win or lose the game ;  
 True as the dial to the sun, 175  
 Altho' it be not shin'd upon.<sup>6</sup>

matched tricksters, who play with state affairs, and by only cavilling at one another's schemes, are ever counteracting each other.

<sup>4</sup> *So those who play a game of state,*] This, and the five following lines are truly descriptive of modern politicians, who use many words and little matter; whose excellence is rated by the number of hours they continue speaking, and cavilling in debate.

<sup>5</sup> *This when the royalists perceiv'd,*] A fine encomium on the royalists, their prudence, and suffering fidelity.

<sup>6</sup> *True as the dial to the sun,*

*Altho' it be not shin'd upon.*] As the dial is invariable, and always open to the sun whenever its rays can shew the time of day, though the weather is often cloudy, and obscures its lustre: so true loyalty



But when these bretheren in evil,<sup>7</sup>  
 Their adversaries, and the devil,  
 Began once more to shew them play,  
 And hopes, at least, to have a day, 180  
 They rally'd in parades of woods,  
 And unfrequented solitudes ;  
 Conven'd at midnight in outhouses,  
 T' appoint new-rising rendezvouses,  
 And, with a pertinacy unmatch'd, 185  
 For new recruits of danger watch'd.<sup>8</sup>  
 No sooner was one blow diverted,  
 But up another party started,  
 And as if Nature tob, in haste,  
 To furnish our supplies as fast, 190  
 Before her time had turn'd destruction,  
 T' a new and numerous production ;<sup>9</sup>  
 No sooner those were overcome,  
 But up rose others in their room,  
 That, like the christian faith, increas'd, 195  
 The more, the more they were suppress'd :

is always ready to serve its king and country, though it often suffers great afflictions and distresses.

<sup>7</sup> *But when these bretheren in evil,*] The poet, to serve his metre, lengthens words as well as contracts them, thus lightening, oppugne, sarcasmous, affairs, bungleing, sprinkleing, benigne.

<sup>8</sup> *For new recruits of danger watch'd.*] Recruits, that is, returns.

<sup>9</sup> *Before her time had turn'd destruction,*  
*T' a new and numerous production ;*] The succession of loyalists was so quick, that they seemed to be perishing, and others supplying their places, before the periods usual in nature ; all which is expressed with an allusion to equivocal generation.

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Whom neither chains, nor transportation,  
 Proscription, sale or confiscation,  
 Nor all the desperate events  
 Of former try'd experiments, 200  
 Nor wounds, could terrify, nor mangling,  
 To leave off loyalty and dangling,  
 Nor death, with all his bones, affright  
 From vent'ring to maintain the right,  
 From staking life and fortune down 205  
 'Gainst all together, for the crown :<sup>1</sup>  
 But kept the title of their cause  
 From forfeiture, like claims in laws ;  
 And prov'd no prosp'rous usurpation  
 Can ever settle on the nation ; 210  
 Until, in spite of force and treason,  
 They put their loy'lty in possession ;  
 And, by their constancy and faith,  
 Destroy'd the mighty men of Gath.  
 Toss'd in a furious hurricane, 215  
 Did Oliver give up his reign,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Gainst all together, *for the crown* :] That is, all of them together, namely, the several factions, their adversaries, and the devil. See v. 178.

<sup>2</sup> *Toss'd in a furious hurricane,*

*Did Oliver give up his reign,*] The Monday before the death of Oliver, August 30th, 1658, was the most windy day that had happened for twenty years ; Dennis Bond, a member of the long parliament, and one of the king's judges, died on this day ; wherefore, when Oliver likewise went away in a storm the Friday following, it was said, the devil came in the first wind to fetch him, but finding him not quite ready, he took Bond for his appearance. Dr. Morton, in his book of Fevers, says, that Oliver died of an ague, or intermit-

And was believ'd, as well by saints  
 As moral men and miscreants,<sup>3</sup>  
 To founder in the Stygian ferry,  
 Until he was retriev'd by Sterry,<sup>4</sup>

220

tent fever; and intimates, that his life might have been saved, had the virtues of the bark been sufficiently known; the distemper was then uncommonly epidemical and fatal: Morton's father died of it. As there was also an high wind the day Oliver died, both the poets and lord Clarendon may be right; though the note on A. Wood's *Life* insinuates, that the noble historian mistook the date of the wind. Wood's *Life*, p. 115. Waller says:

In storms as loud as his immortal fame;  
 and Godolphin:

In storms as loud as was his crying sin.

<sup>3</sup> *As moral men and miscreants,*] Some editions read *mortal*, but not with so much sense or wit. The independents called themselves the saints; the cavaliers, and the church of England, they distinguished into two sorts; the immoral and wicked, they called miscreants; those that were of sober, and of good conversation, they called moral men; yet, because these last did not maintain the doctrine of absolute predestination and justification by faith only, but insisted upon the necessity of good works, they accounted them no better than moral heathens. By this opposition in the terms betwixt *moral men* and *saints*, the poet seems to insinuate, that the pretended saints were men of no morals.

<sup>4</sup> *To founder in the Stygian ferry,*

*Until he was reliev'd by Sterry,*] It was thought by the king's party, that Oliver Cromwell was gone to the devil; but Sterry, one of Oliver's chaplains, assured the world of his assumption into heaven. Sterry preached the sermon at Oliver's funeral, and comforted the audience with the following information: "As sure as this is the Bible (which he held up in his hand) the blessed spirit of Oliver Cromwell is with Christ, at the right hand of the Father, and if he be there, what may not his family expect from him? For if he were so useful and helpful, and so much good influenced from him to them, when he was in a mortal state, how much more influence will they have from him now in heaven: the

Who, in a false erroneous dream,<sup>5</sup>  
Mistook the New Jerusalem,

" Father, Son, and Spirit, through him, bestowed gifts and graces  
" upon them." Bishop Burnet hath recorded more rant of this  
high-flown blasphemer, as I find him called by A. Wood, viz.—that  
praying for Richard Cromwell, he said, " Make him the brightness  
" of his father's glory, and the express image of his person." Arch-  
bishop Tillotson heard him. The following extract is from the  
register of Caversham, in Berkshire, communicated to me by the  
very ingenious and learned Dr. Loveday, of that place, to whom I  
rejoice to acknowledge my obligations for his assistance in the course  
of this work. " Vaniah Vaux, the daughter of captain George, and  
" Elizabeth Vaux, was born upon a Monday morning, between  
" seven and eight o'clock, at Causham Lodge, being the 19th of  
" May, 1656, and christened by Mr. Peter Sterry, minister and  
" chaplain to the Highness the Lord Protector."

<sup>5</sup> *Who, in a false erroneous dream,*] Peter Sterry dreamed, that  
Oliver was to be placed in heaven, which he foolishly imagined to  
be the true and real heaven above; but it happened to be the false  
carnal heaven at the end of Westminster-Hall, where his head was  
fixed after the Restoration. There were, at that time, two victual-  
ling-houses at the end of Westminster-Hall, under the Exchequer,  
the one called Heaven, and the other Hell: \* near to the former  
Oliver's head was fixed, January 30, 1660. Cromwell, Ireton, and  
Bradshaw, were drawn to Tyburn on three several sledges, and,  
being taken from their coffins, hanged at the several angles; after-  
wards their heads were cut off, and set on Westminster-Hall. The  
following is a transcript from a MS. diary of Mr. Edward Sainthill,  
a Spanish merchant of those times, and preserved by his descendants.  
" The 30th of January, being that day twelve years from the death  
" of the king, the odious carcasses of Oliver Cromwell, major-general  
" Ireton, and Bradshaw, were drawn in sledges to Tyburn, where  
" they were hanged by the neck, from morning till four in the

---

\* Those gentlemen who had been restrained in the court of  
wards, were led through Westminster-Hall by a strong guard, to  
that place under the Exchequer, commonly called Hell, where they  
might eat and drink, at their own costs, what they pleased.

Profanely for th' apocryphal  
False heav'n at the end o' th' hall ;

"afternoon. Cromwell in a green seare cloth, very fresh, embalmed; Ireton having been buried long, hung like a dried rat, yet corrupted about the fundament. Bradshaw, in his winding-sheet, the fingers of his right hand and his nose perished, having wet the sheet through; the rest very perfect, insomuch, that I knew his face, when the hangman, after cutting his head off, held it up: of his toes, I had five or six in my hand, which the prentices had cut off. Their bodies were thrown into an hole under the gallows, in their seare-cloth and sheet. Cromwell had eight cuts, Ireton four, being seare-cloths, and their heads were set up on the south-end of Westminster-Hall." In a marginal note is a drawing of Tyburn (by the same hand) with the bodies hanging, and the grave underneath. Cromwell is represented like a mummy swathed up, with no visible legs or feet. To this memorandum is added :

"Ireton, died the 26th of November, 1651.

"Cromwell, the 3d of September, 1658.

"Bradshaw, the 31st of October, 1659."

In the same diary are the following articles:—"January 8th, 1661, Sir A. Haslerigg, that cholerick rebel, died in the Tower. The 17th, Venner and his accomplice hanged—he and another in Coleman-street; the other 17 in other places of the city. Sept. 3d, 1662, Cromwell's glorious, and yet fatal day, died that long speaker of the long parliament, William Lenthall, very penitently." Yet, according to other accounts, the body of Oliver has been differently disposed of. Some say, that it was sunk in the Thames; others, that it was buried in Naseby-field. But the most romantic story of all is, that his corpse was privately taken to Windsor, and put in king Charles's coffin; while the body of the king was buried in state for Oliver's, and, consequently, afterwards hanged at Tyburn, and the head exposed at Westminster-Hall. These idle reports might arise from the necessity there was of interring the protector's body before the funeral rites were performed: for it appears to have been deposited in Westminster-Abbey, in the place now occupied by the tomb of the duke of Buckingham. The engraved plate on his coffin is still in being. Sir John Prestwick, in

Whither, it was decreed by fate, 225  
 His precious reliques to translate.  
 So Romulus was seen before  
 B' as orthodox a senator,\*

his Republica, tells us, "that Cromwell's remains were privately interred in a small paddock, near Holborn, on the spot where the obelisk in Red-lion-square lately stood." The account of Oliver's sickness and death in Biog. Brit. ed. 2. vol. iv. p. 108, may be depended upon, being taken from Bates' Elenchus Motuum, who attended as his physician, at the time. Dr. Morton says, anno 1658, Febris hæc, tam spuria quam simplex, præsertim mensibus autumnalibus ubique per totam Angliam grassabatur, quod etiam Willisius in puretologia sua testatus est. Olivarius Cromwellus, qui tum temporis rerum Britannicarum potitus est, et pater meus reverendus, idemque medicus exercitatissimus, illo ipso anno, ineunte Septembri, cum hæc constitutio ad *acumy* pervenisset, hac febre correpti, fati cedebant. Hoc tempore fere tota hæc insula nosocomii publici speciem præ se ferebat, et in nonnullis locis sani vix supererant, qui ad ministrandum valetudinariis sufficerent.

\* *So Romulus was seen before*

*B' as orthodox a senator,*] Livy says, "Romulus, the first Roman king, being suddenly missed, and the people in trouble for the loss of him, Julius Proculus made a speech, wherein he told them, that he saw Romulus that morning come down from heaven; that he gave him certain things in charge to tell them, and then he saw him mount up to heaven again." Proculus might have been as creditable and orthodox as Peter Sterry, though not one of the assembly of divines. But Dion. Halicarnas. a better antiquary, and more impartial than Livy, relates, xi. 56, that Romulus was murdered by his own discontented subjects. What the annotator to the third part has concerning Quirinus, he might have taken from Dionysius, but neither this author nor Livy say a word about making oath. Dionysius names the witness Julius, and says, he was a country farmer: though our poet has exalted him to the rank of a senator. In succeeding times, when it became fashionable to deify the emperors and their wives, some one was actually bribed to swear, previously to the ceremony, that he had seen the departed person



From whose divine illumination  
 He stole the pagan revelation. 230  
 Next him his son, and heir apparent  
 Succeeded, tho' a lame vicegerent,<sup>7</sup>  
 Who first laid by the parliament;  
 The only crutch on which he leant,  
 And then sunk underneath the state, 235  
 That rode him above horseman's weight.<sup>8</sup>  
 And now the saints began their reign,  
 For which they 'ad yearn'd so long in vain,<sup>9</sup>  
 And felt such bowel-hankerings,  
 To see an empire, all of kings,<sup>1</sup> 240  
 Deliver'd from th' Egyptian awe  
 Of justice, government, and law,<sup>2</sup>

ascending into heaven. Hence, on the consecration coins, we find a person mounted on an eagle, or peacock, or drawn upwards in a chariot.

<sup>7</sup> *Next him his son, and heir apparent*

*Succeeded, tho' a lame vicegerent,*] Richard Cromwell, the eldest son of Oliver, succeeded him in the protectorship; but had neither capacity nor courage sufficient for the situation.

<sup>8</sup> *That rode him above horseman's weight.*] See Part i. canto i. l. 925, where he rides the state; but here the state rides him.

<sup>9</sup> *And now the saints began their reign,*

*For which they 'ad yearn'd so long in vain,*] Meaning the committee of safety. See lord Clarendon, vol. iii. b. xvi. p. 544, and Baxter's Life, p. 74.

<sup>1</sup> *To see an empire, all of kings,*] They founded their hopes on Revelation i. 6, and v. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Deliver'd from th' Egyptian awe*

*Of justice, government, and law,*] Some sectaries thought, that all law proceedings should be abolished, all law books burnt, and that the law of the Lord Jesus should be received alone.



R. Cooper sculp<sup>d</sup>

RICHARD CROMWELL.

*From a Miniature by Cooper*

PUBLISHED BY CHARLES HENRY WALSWORTH, NEWGATE STREET.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND  
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

And free t' erect what spiritual cantons  
 Should be reveal'd, or gospel Hans-Towns.<sup>3</sup>  
 To edify upon the ruins 245  
 Of John of Leyden's old out-goings,<sup>4</sup>  
 Who for a weather-cock hung up  
 Upon their mother-church's top,  
 Was made a type by Providence,  
 Of all their revelations since, 250  
 And now fulfill'd by his successors,  
 Who equally mistook their measures ;  
 For when they came to shape the model,  
 Not one could fit another's noddle ;  
 But found their light and gifts more wide 255  
 From fadging, than th' unsanctify'd,  
 While ev'ry individual brother  
 Strove hand to fist against another,  
 And still the maddest, and most crackt,  
 Were found the busiest to transact ;<sup>5</sup> 260

<sup>3</sup> *And free t' erect what spiritual cantons*

*Should be reveal'd, or gospel Hans-towns.]* At liberty to erect free states and communities, like the cantons of Switzerland, or the Hans-towns of Germany ; or, in short, to establish any polity which their holy zeal might find agreeable.

<sup>4</sup> *To edify upon the ruins*

*Of John of Leyden's old out-goings,]* John Buckhold, or Bokelson, a tailor of Leyden, was ring-leader of a furious tribe of anabaptists, who made themselves masters of the city of Munster, where they proclaimed a community both of goods and women. This New Jerusalem, as they had named it, was retaken, after a long siege, by its bishop and sovereign count Waldeck ; and John, with two of his associates, was suspended in an iron cage on the highest tower of the city. This happened about the year 1536.

<sup>5</sup> *And still the maddest, and most crackt,*

*Were found the busiest to transact ;]* A very sensible observation, which has been justified too frequently in other instances.

For tho' most hands dispatch apace,  
 And make light work, the proverb says,  
 Yet many diff'rent intellects  
 Are found t' have contrary effects ;  
 And many heads t' obstruct intrigues,                    265  
 As slowest insects have most legs.

Some were for setting up a king,  
 But all the rest for no such thing,  
 Unless king Jesus :<sup>a</sup> others tamper'd  
 For Fleetwood, Desborough and Lambert ;<sup>'</sup>  
 Some for the rump, and some more crafty,  
 For agitators, and the safety ;<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Unless king Jesus :—*] “The fifth monarchy men,” as bishop Burnet says, “seemed daily to expect the appearance of Christ.” Mr. Carew, one of the king’s judges, would not plead to his indictment, when brought to trial, till he had entered a salvo for the jurisdiction of Jesus Christ : “saving to our Lord Jesus Christ his “right to the government of these kingdoms.”

<sup>'</sup> — *others tamper'd*

*For Fleetwood, Desborough and Lambert ;*] Fleetwood was son-in-law to Cromwell, having married Ireton’s widow. He was made lord deputy of Ireland, and lieutenant-general of the army. Desborough married one of Cromwell’s sisters, and became a colonel, and general at sea. Lambert was the person who, as Ludlow tells us, was always kept in expectation by Cromwell of succeeding him, and was indeed the best qualified for it.

<sup>a</sup> *Some for the rump, and some more crafty,*

*For agitators, and the safety ;*] Some were for restoring the remnant of the long parliament, which, by deaths, exclusions, and expulsions, was reduced to a small number, perhaps forty or fifty, and therefore called the rump. After the king’s party was subdued, and the parliament began to talk of disbanding the army, or sending it into Ireland, a military council was set up, consisting of the chief officers, like the lords, and a number of deputies from the inferior officers and common soldiers, like the commons, who were to meet



CHRISTIANIA, NICKNAMED FORTY-TWO ONE.

*from a Picture by Hauser.*

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1665. 1666.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF  
CHARLES II.

BY JOHN HUGHES, ESQ.



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ASTOR, LENOX AND  
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Some for the gospel, and massacres  
 Of spiritual affidavit-makers,<sup>o</sup>  
 That swore to any human regence 275  
 Oaths of suprem'cy and allegiance;  
 Yea, tho' the ablest swearing saint,  
 That vouch'd the bulls o' th' covenant:  
 Others for pulling down th' high places  
 Of synods and provincial classes,<sup>1</sup> 280  
 That us'd to make such hostile inroads  
 Upon the saints, like bloody Nimrods:  
 Some for fulfilling prophecies,<sup>2</sup>  
 And th' extirpation of th' excise;

and consult on the interests of the army. These were called agitators, and the chief management of affairs seemed to be for some time in their hands. When Lambert had broken the rump parliament in 1659, the officers of the army, joined by some of the members, agreed to form a committee of safety, as they called it, consisting of between twenty or thirty persons, who were to assume the government, and provide for the safety of the kingdom.

<sup>o</sup> *Some for the gospel, and massacres*

[*Of spiritual affidavit-makers,*] Some were for abolishing all laws but what were expressed in the words of the gospel: for destroying all magistracy and government, and for extirpating those who should endeavour to uphold it; and of those Whitelock alledges, that he acted as a member of the committee of safety, because so many were for abolishing all order, that the nation was like to run into the utmost confusion. The agitators wished to destroy all records, and the courts of justice.

<sup>1</sup> *Others for pulling down th' high places*

[*Of synods and provincial classes,*] They wished to see an end of the presbyterian hierarchy.

<sup>2</sup> *Some for fulfilling prophecies,*] That is, perhaps, for taking arms against the pope.

And some against th' Egyptian bondage      285  
 Of holidays, and paying poundage :<sup>a</sup>  
 Some for the cutting down of groves,<sup>d</sup>  
 And rectifying bakers' loaves ;  
 And some for finding out expedients  
 Against the slav'ry of obedience :      290  
 Some were for gospel-ministers,  
 And some for red-coat seculars,<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *And some against th' Egyptian bondage*

*Of holidays, and paying poundage :*] On the 8th of June 1647, an ordinance was published throughout England and Wales to abolish festivals, and allow the second Tuesday in every month to scholars, apprentices, and servants, for their recreation. The taxes imposed by the parliament were numerous and heavy : a pound rate was levied on all personal property. For *poundage*, see Clarendon, vol. i. fol. 206.

<sup>d</sup> *Some for the cutting down of groves,*] That is, for destroying the ornaments of churches, which they supposed to be marks of idolatry and superstition. Mr. Gosling, in his *Walk about Canterbury*, p. 193, tells a story of one Richard Culmer, a minister of God's word, and M. A. who demolished a rich window of painted glass, and published an account of his exploit ; yet without noticing the following occurrence : " While he was laying about him with great zeal and ardour, a townsman looking on, asked him what he was doing ? ' I am doing the work of the Lord,' said he. ' Then,' replied the other, ' if it please the Lord I will help you ;' and threw a stone with so good a will, that if the saint had not ducked, he might have laid his own bones among the rubbish he was making. " N. B. He was then mounted on a ladder sixty feet high." It is well known that groves were anciently made use of as places of worship. The rows of clustered pillars in our gothic cathedrals, branching out and meeting at top in long drawn arches, are supposed to have been suggested by the venerable groves of our ancestors.

<sup>e</sup> *Some were for gospel-ministers,*

*And some for red-coat seculars,*] Some petitioned for the continuance and maintenance of a gospel ministry. Some thought that

As men most fit t' hold forth the word,  
 And wield the one and th' other sword :<sup>a</sup>  
 Some were for carrying on the work                    295  
 Against the pope, and some the Turk :  
 Some for engaging to suppress  
 The camisado of surplices,<sup>7</sup>  
 That gifts and dispensations hinder'd,  
 And turn'd to th' outward man the inward ;<sup>8</sup>  
 More proper for the cloudy night  
 Of popery than gospel-light :  
 Others were for abolishing  
 That tool of matrimony, a ring,<sup>9</sup>  
 With which th' unsanctify'd bridegroom                    305  
 Is marry'd only to a thumb,<sup>1</sup>

laymen, and even soldiers, might preach the word, as some of them did, particularly Cromwell and Ireton.

<sup>a</sup> *And wield the one and th' other sword :*] The sword of the spirit, which is the word of God. Ephesians vi. 17.

<sup>7</sup> *Some for engaging to suppress*

*The camisado of surplices,*] Some sectaries had a violent aversion to the surplice, which they called a rag of popery. *Camisado* or *camisade*, is an expedition by night, in which the soldiers sometimes wear their shirts over the rest of their clothes, that they may be distinguished by their comrades.

<sup>8</sup> *And turn'd to th' outward man the inward ;*] Transferred the purity which should remain in the heart, to the vestment on the back.

<sup>9</sup> *Others were for abolishing*

*That tool of matrimony, a ring,*] Persons contracting matrimony were to publish their intentions in the next town, on three market days, and afterwards the contract was to be certified by a justice of the peace: no ring was used.

<sup>1</sup> *With which th' unsanctify'd bridegroom*

*Is marry'd only to a thumb,*] The word *thumb* is used for the sake of rhyme, the ring being put by the bridegroom upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand. This is a very ancient custom, and

As wise as ringing of a pig,  
 That us'd to break up ground, and dig ;  
 The bride to nothing but her "will,"<sup>2</sup>  
 That nulls the after-marriage still : 310  
 Some were for th' utter extirpation  
 Of linsey-woolsey in the nation ;<sup>3</sup>

not unknown to the Greeks and Romans. Many whimsical reasons are given for it. We are told by Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. lib. x. ch. 10, that from this finger there goes a most delicate nerve to the heart : but our ancestors were very fond of wearing thumb-rings : abbots were generally buried with them, in token of their connection, or marriage, with the religious house over which they presided. [In early times the thumb was used as a seal (see Du Cange), as it is to this day in attestations ; from thence the seal ring was worn upon the thumb, which affords perhaps the best reason for abbots being buried with them. But in the text it would seem that something more is meant than meets the ear ; for Butler with his facility of versification would never have given such a rhyme for the rhyme's sake merely. The following extract from No. 614 of the Spectator seems to throw a glimmer on the passage : " Before I speak of widows, I cannot but observe one thing, which I do not know how to account for ; a widow is always more sought after than an old maid of the same age. It is common enough among ordinary people for a stale virgin to set up a shop in a place where she is not known ; where the *large thumb ring*, supposed to be given her by her husband, quickly recommends her to some wealthy neighbour, who takes a liking to the jolly widow, that would have overlooked the venerable spinster." Falstaff says :

" I could have crept into any alderman's *thumb-ring*." ]

<sup>2</sup> *The bride to nothing but her "will,"*] Mr. Warburton thinks this an equivoque, alluding to the response which the bride makes in the marriage ceremony—" I will." Mr. Butler, in his *Genuine Remains*, vol. i. p. 246, says :

The souls of women are so small,  
 That some believe th' have none at all ;  
 Or, if they have, like cripples, still,  
 Th' ave but one faculty, the will.

*Some were for th' utter extirpation*

*Of linsey-woolsey in the nation ;*] Were for judaizing. The Jewish

And some against all idolizing  
 The cross in shop-books, or baptizing :<sup>4</sup>  
 Others to make all things recant 315  
 The christian or sirname of saint,<sup>5</sup>  
 And force all churches, streets, and towns,  
 The holy title to renounce ;  
 Some 'gainst a third estate of souls,  
 And bringing down the price of coals ;<sup>6</sup> 320

law forbids the use of a garment made of linen and woollen. Lev. xix. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *And some against all idolizing*

*The cross in shop-books, or baptizing :*] The presbyterians thought it superstitious and popish to use the sign of the cross in baptism ; or, even for tradesmen to make a cross in their books, as a sign of payment. Mr. Warburton thinks the lines may refer to a proposal, which was made by some, for spunging all public debts ; and, perhaps, it is a sneer upon the anabaptists, who called themselves *liberi homines*, and pretended they were made free by Christ, from payment of all taxes and debts ; and some presbyterians made this a pretence for not paying their private debts, lest they should give occasion to the making of crosses, and so be promoters of idolatry. Butler unites the most trivial with the most important objects of reformation proposed by the fanatic republicans of that time, and means, that as the original nonconformists objected to the sign of the cross in baptism, so now their successors carried their aversion to that once venerated form to such an extreme, as to call it idolatrous, when only used to cross out paltry debts in a tradesman's ledger-book.

<sup>5</sup> *Others to make all things recant*

*The christian or sirname of saint,*] Streets, parishes, churches, and even the apostles themselves, were unsainted for eight or ten years preceding the restoration. See the Spectator, No. 125.

<sup>6</sup> *Some, 'gainst a third estate of souls,*

*And bringing down the price of coals ;*] The first line may allude to the intermediate or middle state, in which some supposed the soul to continue from the time of its leaving the body to the resurrection ; or else it may allude to the popish doctrine of purgatory. The former subject was warmly discussed about this time. The exorbi-

Some for abolishing black-pudding,  
 And eating nothing with the blood in ;<sup>7</sup>  
 To abrogate them roots and branches,<sup>8</sup>  
 While others were for eating haunches  
 Of warriors, and now and then, 325  
 The flesh of kings and mighty men ;<sup>9</sup>  
 And some for breaking of their bones  
 With rods of iron,<sup>1</sup> by secret ones ;<sup>2</sup>

tant price of coals was then loudly complained of. Sir Arthur Hazlerigg laid a tax of four shillings a chaldron upon Newcastle coals, when he was governor there. Many petitions were presented against the tax ; and various schemes proposed for reducing the price of them. Shakspeare says :

A pair of tribunes that have sack'd fair Rome  
 To make coals cheap. Coriolanus, Act v. sc. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Some for abolishing black-pudding,  
 And eating nothing with the blood in ;* ] The judaizing sect.

<sup>8</sup> *To abrogate them roots and branches,* ] This line seems unconnected with the preceding, and I am inclined to think it misplaced. Clarendon mentions a set of men, were called root and branch men, in opposition to others who were of more moderate principles. *To abrogate*, that is, that they might utterly abrogate or renounce every thing that had blood, while others were for eating haunches, alluding to Revelations, xix. 18. " That ye might eat the flesh of " kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and " the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of " all men, both free and bond, both small and great."

<sup>9</sup> *While others were for eating haunches*

*Of warriors, and now and then,*

*The flesh of kings and mighty men ;* ] Expecting, perhaps, the completion of the text, Rev. xix. 18.

<sup>1</sup> *And some for breaking of their bones*

*With rods of iron,—* ] Ridiculing the practice, so common in those days, of expressing every sentiment in terms of Scripture. He alludes perhaps to Psalm ii. 9. Isaiah xli. 15, and Revelations xix. 15.

<sup>2</sup> — *by secret ones ;* ] Thus in the 83d Psalm and 3d verse, " and " taken counsel against thy secret ones : " it is thus translated in

For thrashing mountains, and with spells  
 For hallowing carriers' packs and bells ;<sup>2</sup> 330  
 Things that the legend never heard of,  
 But made the wicked sore afeard of.<sup>4</sup>

The quacks of government,<sup>5</sup> who sate  
 At th' unregarded helm of state,  
 And understood this wild confusion 335  
 Of fatal madness and delusion,  
 Must, sooner than a prodigy,  
 Portend destruction to be nigh,  
 Consider'd timely how t' withdraw,  
 And save their wind-pipes from the law ; 340  
 For one rencounter at the bar  
 Was worse than all they 'ad 'scap'd in war ;  
 And therefore met in consultation  
 To cant and quack upon the nation ;  
 Not for the sickly patient's sake, 345  
 Nor what to give, but what to take ;  
 To feel the pulses of their fees,  
 More wise than fumbling arteries ;  
 Prolong the snuff of life in pain,  
 And from the grave recover—gain. 350

their favourite copy of Geneva. See this expression used v. 681, 697 and 706 of this canto.

<sup>2</sup> *For hallowing carriers' packs and bells ;* ] See Zecharia xiv. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Things that the legend never heard of,*

*But made the wicked sore afeard of.* ] Things which the Scriptures never intended, but which the wicked, that is, the warriors, kings, and mighty men were afraid of, lest they should break their bones and eat their flesh.

<sup>5</sup> *The quacks of government,* ] These were Mr. Hollis, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Grimstone, Annesley, Manchester, Roberts, and others ; who perceiving that Richard Cromwell was unable to con-



'Mong these there was a politician,  
 With more heads than a beast in vision,<sup>6</sup>  
 And more intrigues in every one  
 Than all the whores of Babylon ;  
 So politic, as if one eye 355  
 Upon the other were a spy,<sup>7</sup>  
 That to trepan the one to think  
 The other blind, both strove to blink ;  
 And in his dark pragmatic way,  
 As busy as a child at play. 360  
 He 'ad seen three governments run down,<sup>8</sup>  
 And had a hand in ev'ry one ;

duct the government, and that the various schemers, who daily started up, would divide the party, and facilitate the restoration of the royal family, thought it prudent to take care of themselves, and secure their own interests with as much haste as possible.

<sup>6</sup> *'Mong these there was a politician,*

*With more heads than a beast in vision,*] Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper afterward earl of Shaftesbury. See bishop Burnet's character of him in the history of his own times. In 1660, Ashley Cooper was named one of the twelve members of the house of commons, to carry their invitation to the king : and it was in performing this service that he was overturned on the road, and received a dangerous wound between the ribs, which ulcerated many years after, and was opened when he was lord chancellor ; hence, and from an absurd defamation that he had the vanity to expect to be chosen king of Poland, he was called Tapsky ; others, from his general conduct, nicknamed him Shiftesbury.

*With more heads than a beast in vision.* Than the beast with seven heads and ten horns, in the Revelations.

<sup>7</sup> *So politic, as if one eye*

*Upon the other were a spy,*] Lord Shaftesbury had weak eyes, and squinted. He had other disorders, which are mentioned in the *Musæ Anglicanæ*, and in Butler's Remains, vol. ii. p. 369. " He is " intimate with no man, but his pimp and his surgeon." Character of an undeserving favourite.

<sup>8</sup> *He 'ad seen three governments run down,*] Those of the king, the

Was for 'em, and against 'em all,  
 But barb'rous when they came to fall :  
 For by trepanning th' old to ruin, 365  
 He made his int'rest with the new one ;  
 Play'd true and faithful, tho' against  
 His conscience, and was still advanc'd :  
 For by the witchcraft of rebellion  
 Transform'd t' a feeble state-camelion,\* 370  
 By giving aim from side to side,  
 He never fail'd to save his tide,  
 But got the start of ev'ry state,  
 And at a change, ne'er came too late ;  
 Could turn his word, and oath, and faith, 375  
 As many ways as in a lath ;

parliament, and the protector. First he was high sheriff of Dorsetshire, governor of Weymouth, and raised some forces for the king's service. Next he joined the parliament, took the covenant, and was made colonel of a regiment of horse. Afterwards he was a very busy person in setting up Cromwell to be lord protector ; and then again was quite as active in deposing Richard, and restoring the rump. Bishop Burnet says of him, that he was not ashamed to reckon up the many turns he had made, and valued himself upon effecting them at the properest season, and in the best manner :

For close designs and crooked counsels fit,  
 Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit ;  
 Restless, unfix'd in principles and place,  
 In power unpleas'd, impatient of disgrace :  
 In friendship false, implacable in hate,  
 Resolv'd to ruin, or to rule the state.

Absalom and Achitophel.

\* *Transform'd t' a feeble state-camelion,*] The camelion is said to assume the colour of the nearest object. See a treatise with this title among the works of Buchanan, at the end of the first volume, printed in 1723, written to traduce Secretary Maitland, alias Lethington, a politician of similar talents.

By turning, wriggle, like a screw,  
 Int' highest trust and out for new :  
 For when he 'ad happily incurr'd,  
 Instead of hemp, to be preferr'd, 380  
 And pass'd upon a government,<sup>1</sup>  
 He play'd his trick, and out he went ;  
 But being out, and out of hopes  
 To mount his ladder, more, of ropes,<sup>2</sup>  
 Would strive to raise himself upon 385  
 The public ruin, and his own ;  
 So little did he understand  
 The desp'rate feats he took in hand,  
 For when he 'ad got himself a name  
 For frauds and tricks he spoil'd his game ; 390  
 Had forc'd his neck into a noose,<sup>3</sup>  
 To shew his play at fast and loose ;  
 And, when he chanc'd t' escape, mistook,  
 For art and subtlety, his luck.  
 So right his judgment was cut fit, 395  
 And made a tally to his wit,  
 And both together most profound  
 At deeds of darkness under ground ;  
 As th' earth is easiest undermin'd,  
 By vermin impotent and blind.<sup>4</sup> 400

<sup>1</sup> *And pass'd upon a government,*] That is, passed himself upon the government.

<sup>2</sup> *To mount his ladder, more, of ropes,*] It was in clandestine designs, such as house-breaking and the like, that rope-ladders were chiefly used in our poet's time.

<sup>3</sup> *Had forc'd his neck into a noose,*] Perhaps it would be better if for *had*, we read *and*, or *he*.

<sup>4</sup> *By vermin impotent and blind.*] The poet probably means earth-worms, which are still more impotent and blind than moles.

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THE HISTORY OF THE  
*Rev. John ...*

PUBLISHED BY CHARLES & HENRY BALGUY, NEWCASTLE STREET

By all these arts, and many more,  
 He 'ad practis'd long and much before,  
 Our state-artificer foresaw  
 Which way the world began to draw :  
 For as old sinners have all points 405  
 O' th' compass in their bones and joints,  
 Can by their pangs and aches find  
 All turns and changes of the wind,  
 And better than by Napier's bones,\*  
 Feel in their own the age of moons ; 410  
 So guilty sinners, in a state,  
 Can by their crimes prognosticate,  
 And in their consciences feel pain  
 Some days before a show'r of rain :  
 He therefore wisely cast about 415  
 All ways he could t' ensure his throat,  
 And hither came, t' observe and smoke  
 What courses other riskers took,  
 And to the utmost do his best  
 To save himself, and hang the rest. 420  
 To match this saint there was another,  
 As busy and perverse a brother,\*

\* *And better than by Napier's bones,*] Lord Napier was one of the first establishers of the Royal Society, a very considerable mathematician, inventor of logarithms, and of certain pieces of wood or ivory with numbers on them, with which he performed arithmetical and geometrical calculations, and these were called Napier's bones. See Lilly's History of his own Life and Times, p. 105, where he is called lord Marchiston.

\* *To match this saint there was another,  
 As busy and perverse a brother,*] The old annotator applies this character to the famous John Lilbourn ; and indeed it resembles

An haberdasher of small wares'  
 In politics and state affairs ;  
 More Jew than rabbi Achithophel,<sup>a</sup> 425  
 And better gifted to rebel ;

him in many respects. But the time of the action in this canto immediately precedes the Restoration, 1660, and Lilbourn died August 28, 1657. The apparent anachronism may shew, that Butler did not desire to be understood of Lilbourn or Shaftesbury, exclusively of others ; though doubtless the character of those two men furnished him with the principal traits in the two pictures. In his *Remains*, vol. ii. p. 272. are two speeches pretended to have been made in the rump parliament, 1659, one of them by a presbyterian, the other by an independent. They maintain the same sentiments with the following debate, but have no personal allusions to mark the particular characters of the two speakers. "The reader," says Mr. Thyer, "who has curiosity enough to compare, will find a great similarity of argument in the two performances ; and that the grave, distinct reasoning in the serious invective, serves very happily to illustrate the arch and satirical drollery of the poetical banter." Colonel John Lilbourn had been severely censured in the star-chamber, for dispersing seditious pamphlets ; and on the same account was afterwards rewarded by the parliament, and preferred by Cromwell. But when Cromwell had usurped the sovereign power, Lilbourn forsook him, and writing and speaking vehemently he was arraigned of treason. He was a grand leveller, and strong opponent of all that was uppermost ; a man of such an inveterate spirit of contradiction, that it was commonly said of him, if the world were emptied of all but himself, John would be against Lilbourn, and Lilbourn against John. Though John was dead, his brother Robert was living, and figured conspicuously. But perhaps the poet might here mean some one more considerable than Lilbourn to oppose to Ashley Cooper.

<sup>1</sup> *An haberdasher of small wares*] A smatterer in politics. Lilbourn had been bred a tradesman : lord Clarendon says a bookbinder ; Anthony a Wood makes him a packer.

<sup>a</sup> *More Jew than rabbi Achithophel,*] Achithophel was one of David's counsellors. He joined the rebellious Absalom, and assisted him with very artful advice ; but hanged himself when it was not implicitly followed. 2 Samuel, xvii. 23.

For when h' had taught his tribe to 'spouse  
 The cause, aloft upon one house,  
 He scorn'd to set his own in order,  
 But try'd another, and went further ; 430  
 So suddenly addicted still  
 To's only principle, his will,  
 That whatsoe'er it chanc'd to prove,  
 No force of argument could move,  
 Nor law, nor cavalcade of Ho'born,\* 435  
 Could render half a grain less stubborn ;  
 For he at any time would hang,  
 For th' opportunity t' harangue ;  
 And rather on a gibbet dangle,  
 Than miss his dear delight, to wrangle ; 440  
 In which his parts were so accomplish'd,  
 That, right or wrong, he ne'er was non-plust :  
 But still his tongue ran on, the less  
 Of weight it bore, with greater ease ;  
 And, with its everlasting clack, 445  
 Set all men's ears upon the rack :  
 No sooner could a hint appear,  
 But up he started to picqueer,<sup>1</sup>

\* *Nor law, nor cavalcade of Ho'born,*] When criminals were executed at Tyburn, they were generally conveyed in carts, by the sheriff and his attendants on horseback, from Newgate, along Snow-hill, Holborn-hill, Holborn, High Holborn, Broad St. Giles's, Oxford-street, and Tyburn-road.

<sup>1</sup> *No sooner could a hint appear,*  
*But up he started to picqueer,*] In a conference with James II. held with Burnet on the subject of religion, James said " he had " piqueered with Sheldon and Morley, and found them nearer to



And made the stoutest yield to mercy,  
 When he engag'd in controversy ; 450  
 Not by the force of carnal reason,  
 But indefatigable teasing ;  
 With vollies of eternal babble,  
 And clamour, more unanswerable :  
 For tho' his topics, frail and weak, 455  
 Cou'd ne'er amount above a freak,  
 He still maintain'd 'em, like his faults,  
 Against the desp'ratest assaults ;  
 And back'd their feeble want of sense,  
 With greater heat and confidence :<sup>3</sup> 460  
 As bones of Hectors, when they differ,  
 The more they 're cudgell'd, grow the stiffer.<sup>3</sup>  
 Yet when this profit moderated,<sup>4</sup>  
 The fury of his heat abated ;  
 For nothing but his interest 465  
 Could lay his devil of contest :  
 It was his choice, or chance, or curse,  
 T' espouse the cause for better or worse,

“ popery than the young divines :” it is a military term, and signifies to skirmish.

<sup>3</sup> *With greater heat and confidence :*] When Lilbourn was arraigned for treason against Cromwell, he pleaded at his trial, that no treason could be committed against such a government, and what he had done was in defence of the liberties of his country.

<sup>3</sup> *As bones of Hectors, when they differ,*

*The more they 're cudgell'd, grow the stiffer.*] A pun upon the word stiffer.

<sup>4</sup> *Yet when his profit moderated,*] When his interest awayed and governed him. *Moderated* is a verb active.

And with his worldly goods and wit,  
 And soul and body worshipp'd it :<sup>s</sup> 470  
 But when he found the sullen trapes  
 Possess'd with th' devil, worms, and claps ;  
 The Trojan mare, in foal with Greeks,  
 Not half so full of jadish tricks,  
 Tho' squeamish in her outward woman, 475  
 As loose and rampant as Doll Common ;<sup>6</sup>  
 He still resolv'd to mend the matter,  
 T' adhere and cleave the obstinater ;  
 And still the skittisher and looser  
 Her freaks appear'd, to sit the closer : 480  
 For fools are stubborn in their way,  
 As coins are harden'd by th' allay :  
 And obstinacy's ne'er so stiff,  
 As when 'tis in a wrong belief.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>s</sup> *And with his worldly goods and wit,  
 And soul and body worshipp'd it :*] Alluding to the words in the  
 office of matrimony. " With my body I thee worship, and with all  
 " my worldly goods I thee endow."

<sup>6</sup> *As loose and rampant as Doll Common ;*] A prostitute in Ben  
 Jonson's play called *The Alchymist*.

<sup>7</sup> *For fools are stubborn in their way,  
 As coins are harden'd by th' allay :  
 And obstinacy's ne'er so stiff,  
 As when 'tis in a wrong belief :*] The same sentiment is differ-  
 ently expressed in the *Remains*, vol. i. page 181 :

For as implicit faith is far more stiff,  
 Than that which understands its own belief ;  
 So those that think, and do but think, they know,  
 Are far more obstinate than those that do :  
 And more averse, than if they 'd ne'er been taught  
 A wrong way, to a right one to be brought,

These two, with others, being met,<sup>a</sup> 485  
 And close in consultation set,  
 After a discontented pause,  
 And not without sufficient cause,  
 The orator we mention'd late,  
 Less troubled with the pangs of state, 490  
 Than with his own impatience,  
 To give himself first audience,  
 After he had awhile look'd wise,  
 At last broke silence, and the ice.

Quoth he, There's nothing makes me doubt  
 Our last outgoings brought about,  
 More than to see the characters  
 Of real jealousies and fears  
 Not feign'd, as once, but sadly horrid,<sup>b</sup>  
 Scor'd upon ev'ry member's forehead ; 500  
 Who, 'cause the clouds are drawn together,  
 And threaten sudden change of weather,  
 Feel pangs and aches of state-turns,  
 And revolutions in their corns ;

<sup>a</sup> *These two, with others, being met,*

*And close in consultation set,]* A cabal met at Whitehall, at the same time that general Monk dined with the city of London.

<sup>b</sup> *Not feign'd, as once, but sadly horrid,]* Not feigned and pretended as formerly, in the beginning of the parliament, when they stirred up the people against the king, by forging letters, suborning witnesses, and making an outcry of strange plots being carried on, and horrible dangers being at hand. For instance, the people were incensed, as if the papists were about to fire their houses, and cut their throats whilst they were at church ; as if troops of soldiers were kept under ground to do execution upon them ; and sometimes as if the Thames were intended to be blown up with gunpowder, to drown or choak them. Bates's Elench. Motuum.

And, since our workings-out are crost,<sup>1</sup> 505  
 Throw up the cause before 'tis lost.  
 Was it to run away we meant,  
 Who, taking of the covenant,  
 The lamest cripples of the brothers  
 Took oaths to run before all others,<sup>2</sup> 510  
 But in their own sense, only swore,  
 To strive to run away before,  
 And now would prove, that words and oath  
 Engage us to renounce them both?  
 'Tis true the cause is in the lurch, 515  
 Between a right and mongrel-church;  
 The presbyter and independent,  
 That stickle which shall make an end on't,  
 As 'twas made out to us the last  
 Expedient,—I mean Marg'ret's fast ;<sup>3</sup> 520

<sup>1</sup> *And, since our workings-out are crost,*] Out-goings, and workings-out, were cant terms in frequent use with the sectaries, signifying perhaps their endeavours, and their works.

<sup>2</sup> *Took oaths to run before all others,*] These were the words used in the solemn league and covenant, "our true and unfeigned purpose is, each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation."

<sup>3</sup> *As 'twas made out to us the last*

*Expedient,—I mean Marg'ret's fast ;*] The lectures and exercises delivered on days of public devotion, were called *expedients*. Besides twenty-five days of solemn fasting and humiliation on extraordinary occasions, there was a fast kept every month for about eight years together. The commons attended divine service in St. Margaret's church, Westminster. The reader will observe, that the orator does not say *Saint Margaret's*, but *Margaret's* fast. Some of the sectaries, instead of Saint Peter or Saint Paul, would in derision say, Sir Peter and Sir Paul. The parliament petitioned the

When Providence had been suborn'd,  
 What answer was to be return'd :<sup>4</sup>  
 Else why should tumults fright us now,  
 We have so many times gone thro',  
 And understand as well to tame 525  
 As when they serve our turns, t' inflame ?  
 Have prov'd how inconsiderable  
 Are all engagements of the rabble,  
 Whose frenzies must be reconcil'd  
 With drums, and rattles, like a child, 530  
 But never prov'd so prosperous,  
 As when they were led on by us ;  
 For all our scouring of religion  
 Began with tumults and sedition ;  
 When hurricanes of fierce commotion 535  
 Became strong motives to devotion ;

king for fasts, while he had power, and afterwards the appointing them themselves, was an *expedient* they made use of to alarm and deceive the people, who, upon such an occasion, could not but conclude there was some more than ordinary impending danger, or some important business carrying on.

<sup>4</sup> *When Providence had been suborn'd,*

*What answer was to be return'd :*] These sectaries pretended a great familiarity with heaven ; and when any villany was to be transacted, they would seem in their prayers to propose their doubts and scruples to God Almighty, and after having debated the matter some time with him, they would turn their discourse, and bring forth an answer suitable to their designs, which the people were to look upon as suggested from heaven. Bates's Elench. Motuum. It was an observation in that time, that the first publishing of extraordinary news was from the pulpit ; and from the preacher's text and discourse the hearers might judge, and commonly foresaw, what was likely to be done next in the parliament or council of state. Lord Clarendon.

As carnal seamen, in a storm,  
 Turn pious converts, and reform,  
 When rusty weapons, with chalk'd edges,  
 Maintain'd our feeble privileges, 540  
 And brown-bills levy'd in the city,<sup>5</sup>  
 Made bills to pass the grand committee:  
 When zeal, with aged clubs and gleaves,<sup>6</sup>  
 Gave chase to rochets, and white sleeves,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *And brown-bills levy'd in the city,*] Apprentices armed with occasional weapons. Ainsworth, in his Dictionary, translates *sparum*, a brown bill. Bishop Warburton says, to fight with rusty or poisoned weapons, (see Shakspeare's Hamlet) was against the law of arms. So when the citizens used the former, they chalked the edges. Samuel Johnson, in the octavo edition of his Dictionary, says, "*brown-bill* was the ancient weapon of the English foot," so called, perhaps, because sanguined to prevent the rust: thus sportsmen often serve their fowling-pieces to prevent too much glitter, as well as the rust. Black-bill seems to be the opposite term to brown-bill. See sir T. Warton's Life of sir T. Pope, p. 356. note. The common epithet for a sword, or offensive weapon in the old metrical romances, is brown: as brown brand, or brown sword, brown bill, &c. and sometimes even bright brown sword. Chaucer applies the word *rustie* in the same sense: he thus describes the reve, "and by his side he bare a rustie blade." And again, even thus the god Mars, "and in his hand he had a rusty sword." Spenser has sometimes used the same epithet. See Warton's Observations, vol. ii. p. 62. Perhaps our ancestors deemed it honourable to carry their weapons stained with the blood of their enemies. In the ballad of Robin Hood, and Guy of Gisborne, l. 148, "with blades both brown and bright." Percy's Reliques, p. 88. See verse 1508 of this canto.

With new-chalk'd bills, and rusty arms.

Butler, in his MS. Common-place book, says, "the confident man's wit is like a watchman's bill with a chalked edge, that pretends to sharpness, only to conceal its dull bluntness from the public view."

<sup>6</sup> *When zeal, with aged clubs and gleaves,*] Zealots armed with old clubs; and *gleaves*, swords, from the Latin, *gladius*.

<sup>7</sup> *Gave chase to rochets, and white sleeves,*] Alderman Pennington,

And made the church, and state, and laws, 545  
 Submit t' old iron, and the cause.  
 And as we thriv'd by tumults then,  
 So might we better now agen,  
 If we knew how, as then we did,  
 To use them rightly in our need : 550  
 Tumults, by which the mutinous  
 Betray themselves instead of us ;  
 The hollow-hearted, disaffected,  
 And close malignant are detected ;  
 Who lay their lives and fortunes down, 555  
 For pledges to secure our own ;  
 And freely sacrifice their ears  
 T' appease our jealousies and fears :  
 And yet, for all these providences,  
 W' are offer'd, if we have our senses, 560  
 We idly sit, like stupid blockheads,  
 Our hands committed to our pockets,  
 And nothing but our tongues at large,  
 To get the wretches a discharge :  
 Like men condemn'd to thunder-bolts, 565  
 Who, ere the blow, become mere dolts ;<sup>a</sup>

with some hundred of the rabble at his heels, presented a petition to the commons signed with 15,000 names, praying that the government by bishops might be abolished. Afterwards the apprentices were drawn down in great numbers, to cry out at the parliament doors, No bishops, No bishops ! By which, and the like means, the bill against the bishops voting in parliament, and that against the earl of Strafford, were made to pass the houses, and obtain the royal assent.

<sup>a</sup> *Like men condemn'd to thunder-bolts,*

*Who, ere the blow, become mere dolts ;]* Some of the ancients

Or fools besotted with their crimes,  
 That know not how to shift betimes,  
 And neither have the hearts to stay,  
 Nor wit enough to run away : 570  
 Who, if we could resolve on either,  
 Might stand or fall at least together ;  
 No mean or trivial solaces  
 To partners in extreme distress,<sup>a</sup>  
 Who use to lessen their despairs, 575  
 By parting them int' equal shares ;  
 As if the more they were to bear,<sup>1</sup>  
 They felt the weight the easier ;  
 And ev'ry one the gentler hung,  
 The more he took his turn among. 580  
 But 'tis not come to that, as yet,  
 If we had courage left, or wit,  
 Who, when our fate can be no worse,  
 Are fitted for the bravest course,  
 Have time to rally, and prepare 585  
 Our last and best defence, despair :<sup>2</sup>

were of opinion, that thunder stupified before it killed. See Ammian. Marcellin. Vejovis fulmine mox tangendos adeo hebetari, ut nec tonitrum nec majores aliquos possint audire fragores, xvii. 10. and Plin. Nat. Hist. ii. 54. Perhaps the notion may be as old as Æschylus : see his Prometheus.

<sup>a</sup> *No mean or trivial solaces,*

*To partners in extreme distress,]*

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.

<sup>1</sup> *As if the more they were to bear,]* In some editions ; as if the more there were to bear.

<sup>2</sup> *Our last and best defence, despair :]*

Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.



Despair, by which the gallant'st feats  
 Have been achiev'd in greatest straits,  
 And horrid'st dangers safely wav'd,  
 By b'ing courageously outbrav'd ; 590  
 As wounds by wider wounds are heal'd,  
 And poisons by themselves expell'd :<sup>3</sup>  
 And so they might be now agen,  
 If we were, what we should be, men ;  
 And not so dully desperate, 595  
 To side against ourselves with fate :  
 As criminals, condemn'd to suffer,  
 Are blinded first, and then turn'd over.  
 This comes of breaking covenants,  
 And setting up exempts of saints,<sup>4</sup> 600  
 That fine, like aldermen, for grace,  
 To be excus'd the efficacy :<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *As wounds by wider wounds are heal'd,*

*And poisons by themselves expell'd :*] Sneering sir Kenelm Digby, and others, who assert this as a fact, indeed, oil is a good cure of the serpent's bite. See v. 1029 of this canto.

<sup>4</sup> *And setting up exempts of saints,*] Dispensing, in particular instances, with the covenant and obligations.

<sup>5</sup> *That fine, like aldermen, for grace,*

*To be excus'd the efficacy :*] Persons who are nominated to an office, and pay the accustomed fine, are entitled to the same privileges as if they had performed the service. Thus, some of the secretaries, if they paid handsomely, were deemed saints, and full of grace, though, from the tenor of their lives, they merited no such distinction, commuting for their want of real grace, that they might be excused the drudgery of good works, for spiritual men are too transcendent to grovel in good works, namely, those spiritual men that mount their banks for independent. *Efficacy* is an affected word of the poet's own coining, and signifies, I suppose, actual service.

For sp'ritual men are too transcendent,<sup>6</sup>  
 That mount their banks for independent,<sup>7</sup>  
 To hang, like Mah'met, in the air,<sup>8</sup> 605  
 Or St. Ignatius, at his prayer,<sup>9</sup>  
 By pure geometry, and hate  
 Dependence upon church or state ;  
 Disdain the pedantry o' th' letter,  
 And since obedience is better, 610  
 The Scripture says, than sacrifice,  
 Presume the less on 't will suffice ;  
 And scorn to have the moderat'st stints  
 Prescrib'd their peremptory hints,  
 Or any opinion, true or false, 615  
 Declar'd as such, in doctrinals ;  
 But left at large to make their best on,  
 Without b'ing call'd t' account or quest'on :

<sup>6</sup> *For sp'ritual men are too transcendent,*] This, and the following lines, contain an elegant satire upon those persons who renounce all dependance either on the church or state.

<sup>7</sup> *That mount their banks for independent,*] *Etre sur les bancs*, is to hold a dispute, to assert a claim, to contest a right or an honour, to be a competitor.

<sup>8</sup> *To hang, like Mah'met, in the air,*] They need no such support as the body of Mahomet ; which, history fabulously tells us, is kept suspended in the air, by being placed in a steel coffin, between two load-stones of equal powers.

<sup>9</sup> *Or St. Ignatius, at his prayer,*] Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the jesuits. An old soldier : at the siege of Pampeluna by the French he had both his legs wounded, the left by a stone, the right broken by a bullet. His fervours in devotion were so strong, that they sometimes raised him two cubits from the ground. The same story is told in the legends of Saint Dominick, Xavier, and Phillip Neri.

Interpret all the spleen reveals,  
 As Whittington explain'd the bells ;<sup>1</sup> 620  
 And bid themselves turn back agen  
 Lord May'rs of New Jerusalem ;  
 But look so big and overgrown,  
 They scorn their edifiers t' own,  
 Who taught them all their sprinkling lessons,  
 Their tones, and sanctify'd expressions ;  
 Bestow'd their gifts upon a saint,  
 Like charity, on those that want ;  
 And learn'd th' apocryphal bigots  
 T' inspire themselves with shorthand notes,<sup>2</sup> 630  
 For which they scorn and hate them worse  
 Than dogs and cats do sow-gelders :  
 For who first bred them up to pray,  
 And teach the house of commons way ?

<sup>1</sup> *Interpret all the spleen reveals,*  
*As Whittington explain'd the bells ;]* In his imagination their  
 jingle said,

Turn again Whittington,  
 For thou in time shalt grow  
 Lord mayor of London.

Obeying the admonition, he not only attained the promised honour,  
 but amassed a fortune of £350,000. Tatler, No. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *And learn'd th' apocryphal bigots*  
*T' inspire themselves with shorthand notes,]* *Learn'd*, that is,  
 taught. *Apocryphal bigots*, not genuine ones, some suppose to be a  
 kind of second-rate independent divines, that availed themselves of  
 the genuine bigots or presbyterian ministers discourse, by taking  
 down the heads of it in short-hand, and then retailing it at private  
 meetings. The accent is laid upon the last syllable of *bigot*.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



R. Cooper sculp<sup>t</sup>

ISIDOREUS SACRAMENT.

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R Cooper sculp.

JOHN B. B. B. B.

*From a Portrait by H. H. H.*

PUBLISHED BY CHARLES & HENRY BAILLWYN NEWGATE STREET.

Where had they all their gifted phrases,      635  
 But from our Calamies and Cases ?<sup>3</sup>  
 Without whose sprinkling and sowing,  
 Whoe'er had heard of Nye or Owen ?<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *But from our Calamies and Cases ?*] Calamy was minister of Aldermanbury, London, a zealous presbyterian and covenanter, and frequent preacher before the parliament. He was one of the first who whispered in the conventicles, what afterward he proclaimed openly, that for the cause of religion it was lawful for the subjects to take up arms against the king. Case, upon the deprivation of a loyalist, became minister of Saint Mary Magdalen church, Milk-street; where it was usual with him thus to invite his people to the communion: "You that have freely and liberally contributed to the parliament, for the defence of God's cause and the gospel, draw near," &c. instead of the words "ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins." He was one of the assembly of divines, preached for the covenant, and printed his sermon; preached often before the parliament, was a bitter enemy to independents, and concerned with Love in the plot.

<sup>4</sup> *Without whose sprinkling and sowing, Whoe'er had heard of Nye or Owen ?*] Here read sprinkleing, or sprinkeling. Philip Nye was a most virulent dissenting teacher, zealous against the king and bishops beyond most of his brethren. He went on purpose into Scotland, to expedite the covenant, and preached before the houses in England, when that obligation was taken by them. He was at first a presbyterian, and one of the assembly; but afterward joined the independents. At the restoration, it was debated by the healing parliament, for several hours, whether he should not be excepted from life. Doctor Owen was a great stickler on the independent side, and in great credit with Cromwell and his party. He was preferred by them to the deanry of Christ-church, in Oxford. The Biographical Dictionary in 8vo. says, that, in 1654, being vice-chancellor, he offered to represent the university in parliament; and, to remove the objection of his being a divine, renounced his orders, and pleaded that he was a layman. He was returned; but his election being questioned in the committee, he sat only a short time.



Their dispensations had been stified,  
 But for our Adoniram Byfield ;<sup>5</sup> 640  
 And had they not begun the war,  
 They 'ad ne'er been sainted as they are :<sup>6</sup>  
 For saints in peace degenerate,  
 And dwindle down to reprobate ;  
 Their zeal corrupts, like standing water, 645  
 In th' intervals of war and slaughter ;  
 Abates the sharpness of its edge,  
 Without the pow'r of sacrilege :<sup>7</sup>  
 And tho' they 've tricks to cast their sins,  
 As easy as serpents do their skins,<sup>8</sup> 650  
 That in a while grow out agen,  
 In peace they turn mere carnal men,  
 And from the most refin'd of saints,  
 As nat'rally grow miscreants

<sup>5</sup> *Their dispensations had been stified,*

*But for our Adoniram Byfield ;*] Byfield was a noted presbyterian, chaplain to colonel Cholmondely's regiment, in the earl of Essex's army, and one of the scribes to the assembly of divines. Afterward he became minister of Collingborn, in Wilts, and assistant to the commissioners in ejecting scandalous ministers.

<sup>6</sup> *And had they not begun the war,*

*They 'ad ne'er been sainted as they are :*] Had not the divines, on the presbyterian side, fomented the differences, the independents had never come in play, or been taken notice of.

<sup>7</sup> *Without the power of sacrilege ;*] That is, if they have not the power and opportunity of committing sacrilege, by plundering the church lands.

<sup>8</sup> *And tho' they 'ave tricks to cast their sins,  
 As easy as serpents do their skins,]*

Positis novus exuviis, nitidusque juvena. Georg. iii. 437.



ADDONSTON AND BENTLEY.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND  
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

As barnacles turn soland geese  
In th' islands of the Orcades.\*

655

\* *As barnacles turn soland geese*

*In th' islands of the Orcades.]* Our poet was too good a naturalist to suppose that a shell-fish would turn to a goose; but in this place, as in many others, he means to banter some of the papers published by the first establishers of the Royal Society. In the twelfth volume of the Philosophical Transactions, No. 137, p. 925, sir Robert Moray gives an account of barnacles hanging upon trees, and containing each of them a little bird, so completely formed, that nothing appeared wanting, as to the external parts, for making up a perfect sea-fowl: the little bill, like that of a goose; the eyes marked; the head, neck, breast, and wings, tail and feet formed; the feathers every way perfectly shaped, and blackish coloured; and the feet like those of other water fowls. See the *Lepas anatifera*, Lin. Syst. 668. My friend, Mr. Pennant, observes, (*British Zoology*, vol. iv. No. 9.) that the animal is furnished with a feathered beard, which, in a credulous age, was believed to be part of a young bird; it is a native of hot climates, and found adhering to the bottoms of ships. Heylin says, they are bred in the isle of Man from rotten wood thrown into the water. The same is mentioned by Camden, and by old Gerard in his Herbal, who gives a print of the goose itself in p. 1587, with a cluster of the shells called *Lepas anatifera*, or barnacle shells, which he calls *Conchæ anatiferae Britannicæ*, and by the wise naturalists of the 16th century were thought to generate the birds, which hung for a while by the bill, then fell into the sea, and grew to maturity: they did not, like our poet, make the tree goose a soland goose, but the goose called the barnacle. *British Zoology*, ii. 269. Sir John Mandevile, in his *Voyages*, ch. 84, says, "In my country there are trees that do bear fruit that become birds flying, and they are good to eat, and that which falls in the water lives, and that which falls on the earth dies." ed. London, 1722. Hector Boetius, in his *History of Scotland*, tells us of a goose-bearing tree, as it is called in the Orcades: that is, one whose leaves falling into the water, are turned to those geese which are called soland geese, and found in prodigious numbers in those parts. Thus the poet Dubartas:

So slow Bootes underneath him sees  
In th' icy islands, goslings hatch'd of trees,

Their dispensation's but a ticket  
 For their conforming to the wicked,  
 With whom their greatest difference  
 Lies more in words and shew, than sense: 660  
 For as the Pope, that keeps the gate  
 Of heaven, wears three crowns of state;<sup>1</sup>  
 So he that keeps the gates of hell,  
 Proud Cerb'rus, wears three heads as well:<sup>2</sup>

Whose fruitful leaves falling into the water  
 Are turn'd ('tis known) to living fowl soon after.

Again:

So rotten planks of broken ships do change  
 To barnacles. Oh! transformation strange!  
 'Twas first a green tree, then a broken hull,  
 Lately a mushroom, now a flying gull.

The poet seems to have taken something from each of these stories. In Moore's Travels into the inland parts of Africa, p. 54, we read: "This evening, December 18, 1730, I supped upon oysters which grew upon trees. Down the river (Gambia) where the water is salt, and near the sea, the river is bounded with trees called mangroves, whose leaves being long and heavy weigh the boughs into the water. To these leaves the young oysters fasten in great quantities, where they grow till they are very large; and then you cannot separate them from the tree, but are obliged to cut off the boughs: The oysters hanging on them resemble a rope of onions." Mr. Francis Moore, son of a writing-master at Worcester, was many years a factor in the service of the African company, and travelled five hundred miles up the river Gambia. These oysters are found in Jamaica, and many other places.

<sup>1</sup> *For as the Pope, that keeps the gate*

*Of heaven, wears three crowns of state;*] The pope, pretending to have the power of the keys, is called janitor ecclesiæ. The tiara or triple crown is a badge of papal dignity.

<sup>2</sup> *So he that keeps the gates of hell,*

*Proud Cerb'rus, wears three heads as well:]*

Cerberus hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci

Personat——

Æneis vi. 417.

And, if the world has any troth,<sup>3</sup> 665  
 Some have been canoniz'd in both.  
 But that which does them greatest harm,  
 Their sp'ritual gizzards are too warm,<sup>4</sup>  
 Which puts the overheated sots  
 In fevers still, like other goats ;<sup>5</sup> 670  
 For tho' the whore bends hereticks  
 With flames of fire, like crooked sticks,<sup>6</sup>  
 Our schismatics so vastly differ,  
 Th' hotter they're they grow the stiffer ;  
 Still setting off their sp'ritual goods, 675  
 With fierce and pertinacious feuds :  
 For zeal's a dreadful termagant,  
 That teaches saints to tear and rant,

<sup>3</sup> *And, if the world has any troth,*

*Some have been canoniz'd in both.]* Many bad as well as good men have been honoured with the title of saints.

<sup>4</sup> *Their sp'ritual gizzards are too warm,]* Persons are said to have a broiling in their gizzards when they stomach any thing very much.

<sup>5</sup> *Which puts the overheated sots*

*In fevers still, like other goats ;]* Capras sanas sanus nemo promittet, nunquam enim sine febre sunt. Varro ii. 3. 5. Columella says they are extremely sickly. And Plutarch ii. p. 290, that they are subject to epilepsies. In the notes on Varro, it is observed that the learned Cotelier was suckled by a she-goat ; and in consequence was a valetudinary through life, subject to melancholy, and scarcely ever without a fever.

<sup>6</sup> *For tho' the whore bends hereticks*

*With flames of fire, like crooked sticks,]* The pope of Rome is, by some, thought to be the same with the whore of Babylon mentioned in the Revelations : and the Romanists are said to have attempted the conversion of infidels by means of fire and faggots, as men made crooked sticks straight by fire and steam.

And independents to profess  
 The doctrine of dependences ; 680  
 Turns meek, and secret, sneaking ones,<sup>7</sup>  
 To raw-heads fierce, and bloody-bones ;  
 And not content with endless quarrels  
 Against the wicked, and their morals,  
 The Gibellines, for want of Guelfs,<sup>8</sup> 685  
 Divert their rage upon themselves.  
 For now the war is not between  
 The brethren and the men of sin,  
 But saint and saint to spill the blood  
 Of one another's brotherhood, 690  
 Where neither side can lay pretence  
 To liberty of conscience,<sup>9</sup>  
 Or zealous suffering for the cause,  
 To gain one groat's worth of applause ;  
 For tho' endur'd with resolution, 695  
 'Twill ne'er amount to persecution ;

<sup>7</sup> *Turns meek, and secret, sneaking ones,*] In some editions we have a better reading thus :

Turns meek, and sneaking secret ones.

<sup>8</sup> *The Gibellines, for want of Guelfs,*] These names of distinction were first made use of at Pistoia, where, when the magistrates expelled the Panzaticchi, there chanced to be two brothers, Germans, one of whom named Guelph was for the pope, the other, Gibel, for the emperor. The spirit of these parties raged with violence in Italy and Germany.

<sup>9</sup> *Where neither side can lay pretence*

*To liberty of conscience,*] That is, not having granted liberty of conscience.

Shall precious saints, and secret ones,  
 Break one another's outward bones,<sup>1</sup>  
 And eat the flesh of brethren,  
 Instead of kings and mighty men? 700  
 When fiends agree among themselves,<sup>2</sup>  
 Shall they be found the greater elves?<sup>3</sup>  
 When Bell's at union with the Dragon,  
 And Baal Peor friends with Dagon;  
 When savage bears agree with bears,<sup>4</sup> 705  
 Shall secret ones lug saints by th' ears,  
 And not atone their fatal wrath,<sup>5</sup>  
 When common danger threatens both?  
 Shall mastiffs, by the collars pull'd,  
 Engag'd with bulls, let go their hold; 710  
 And saints, whose necks are pawn'd at stake,<sup>6</sup>  
 No notice of the danger take;

<sup>1</sup> *Shall precious saints, and secret ones,  
 Break one another's outward bones,*] A sneer upon the canting  
 abuse of Scripture phrases, alluding to Psalm ii. v. 9, thus again  
 l. 328 of this canto: the same may be said of lines 326 and 700.

<sup>2</sup> *When fiends agree among themselves,*]

O shame to men! devil with devil damn'd  
 Firm concord holds—— Paradise Lost, ii. 496.

<sup>3</sup> *Shall they be found the greater elves?*] *They*, that is the saints,  
 see v. 689, 697.

<sup>4</sup> *When savage bears agree with bears,*]

—— sævis inter se convenit ursis. Juv. Sat. xv. 164.

<sup>5</sup> *And not atone their fatal wrath,*] *Atone*, that is, reconcile, see  
 v. 717.

<sup>6</sup> *And saints, whose necks are pawn'd at stake,*] That is, *and saints*,  
 whose all is at stake, as they are to be hanged if things do not take  
 a friendly turn. See v. 716.



But tho' no pow'r of heav'n or hell  
 Can pacify fanatic zeal,  
 Who would not guess there might be hopes,  
 The fear of gallowses and ropes  
 Before their eyes might reconcile  
 Their animosities a while.  
 At least until they 'ad a clear stage,  
 And equal freedom to engage, 720  
 Without the danger of surprise  
 By both our common enemies?<sup>7</sup>  
 This none but we alone could doubt,<sup>8</sup>  
 Who understood their workings-out,  
 And know 'em both in soul and conscience, 725  
 Giv'n up t' as reprobate a nonsense<sup>9</sup>  
 As spiritual out-laws, whom the pow'r  
 Of miracle can ne'er restore.  
 We, whom at first they set up under,  
 In revelation only of plunder, 730  
 Who since have had so many trials  
 Of their encroaching self-denials,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *By both our common enemies?*] That is, by the common enemies of us both.

<sup>8</sup> *This none but we alone could doubt,*] None but we alone could doubt that the fear of gallowses might reconcile their animosities, &c.

<sup>9</sup> *Giv'n up t' as reprobate a nonsense*] Given up to a state of reprobation and guidance of their own folly, like persons under such an irrevocable sentence of excommunication, that even their power of working miracles would never avail to gain them absolution, and reinstate them.

<sup>1</sup> *Who since have had so many trials*

*Of their encroaching self-denials,*] The independents got rid of the presbyterian leaders by the self-denying ordinance.

That rook'd upon us with design<sup>3</sup>  
 To out-reform and undermine ;  
 Took all our int'rests and commands 735  
 Perfidiously out of our hands ;  
 Involv'd us in the guilt of blood,  
 Without the motive gains allow'd,<sup>4</sup>  
 And made us serve as ministerial,  
 Like younger sons of father Belial. 740  
 And yet, for all th' inhuman wrong  
 Th' had done us, and the cause so long,  
 We never fail'd to carry on  
 The work still, as we had begun :  
 But true and faithfully obey'd, 745  
 And neither preach'd them hurt, nor pray'd ;  
 Nor troubled them to crop our ears,  
 Nor hang us, like the cavaliers ;  
 Nor put them to the charge of jails,  
 To find us pill'ries and carts-tails, 750  
 Or hangman's wages, which the state  
 Was forc'd, before them, to be at ;  
 That cut, like tallies, to the stumps,  
 Our ears for keeping true accompts,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *That rook'd upon us with design*] That played the cheat.

<sup>4</sup> *Without the motive gains allow'd,*] That is, without allowing us the gains which were the motives to such actions.

<sup>5</sup> *That cut, like tallies, to the stumps,*

*Our ears for keeping true accompts,*] Tallies are corresponding notches which traders make on sticks: they are planed away when the accompts are allowed, or liquidated. The meaning seems to be, the state before the public confusion made us suffer for keeping true accounts, or for being true, cutting our ears like tallies, and brand-

And burnt our vessels, like a new- 755  
 Seal'd peck, or bushel, for being true ;  
 But hand in hand, like faithful brothers,  
 Held forth the cause against all others,  
 Disdaining equally to yield  
 One syllable of what we held. 760  
 And though we differ'd now and then  
 'Bout outward things, and outward men,  
 Our inward men, and constant frame  
 Of spirit still were near the same ;  
 And till they first began to cant, 765  
 And sprinkle down the covenant,  
 We ne'er had call in any place,  
 Nor dream'd of teaching down free grace ;  
 But join'd our gifts perpetually,  
 Against the common enemy. 770  
 Although 'twas ours, and their opinion,  
 Each other's church was but a Rimmon.<sup>a</sup>

ing the vessels of our bodies like a measure, with the mark fresh upon it: the tallies so cut as keeping true accounts: the measure so sealed, or branded, as being a true one: this suits with the character of Lilbourn. See note on line 421. London and other towns have the power of examining weights and measures, and usually put their seal upon such as are true and just, which are thence called sealed weights, and sealed measures.

<sup>a</sup> *Each other's church was but a Rimmon.*] A Syrian idol. See 2 Kings, v. 18. And *Paradise Lost*, i. 467 :

Him followed Rimmon, whose delightful seat  
 Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks  
 Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid streams.

The meaning is, that in our and their opinion, church communion with each other, was a like case with that of Naaman's bowing him-

And yet, for all this gospel-union,  
 And outward shew of church-communion,  
 They'll ne'er admit us to our shares 775  
 Of ruling church, or state affairs,  
 Nor give us leave t' absolve, or sentence  
 T' our own conditions of repentance :  
 But shar'd our dividend o' th' crown,  
 We had so painfully preach'd down ; 780  
 And forc'd us, tho' against the grain,  
 T' have calls to teach it up again.\*  
 For 'twas but justice to restore  
 The wrongs we had receiv'd before ;  
 And when 'twas held forth in our way, 785  
 We'ad been ungrateful not to pay :  
 Who for the right we've done the nation,  
 Have earn'd our temporal salvation,  
 And put our vessels in a way,  
 Once more to come again in play : 790  
 For if the turning of us out,  
 Has brought this providence about,

self in the house of Rimmon, equally laying both under the necessity of a petition for pardon : the independents knew that their tenets were so opposite to those of the presbyterians, that they could not coalesce, and therefore concealed them, till they were strong enough to declare them.

\* *And forc'd us, tho' against the grain,*

*T' have calls to teach it up again.*] The presbyterians entered into several plots to restore the king. For it was but justice, said they, to repair the injuries we had received from the independents ; and when monarchy was offered to be restored in our own sense, and with all the limitations we desired, it had been ungrateful not to consent.

And that our only suffering  
 Is able to bring in the king,<sup>7</sup>  
 What would our actions not have done, 795  
 Had we been suffer'd to go on ?  
 And therefore may pretend t' a share,<sup>8</sup>  
 At least, in carrying on th' affair :  
 But whether that be so, or not,  
 We 've done enough to have it thought, 800  
 And that's as good as if we 'ad done 't,  
 And easier past upon account :  
 For if it be but half deny'd,  
 'Tis half as good as justify'd.  
 The world is naturally averse 805  
 To all the truth it sees or hears,  
 But swallows nonsense and a lie,  
 With greediness and gluttony ;  
 And tho' it have the pique, and long,  
 'Tis still for something in the wrong :<sup>9</sup> 810

<sup>7</sup> *And that our only suffering*

*Is able to bring in the king,]* Many of the presbyterians, says lord Clarendon, when outed of their preferment, or secluded from their house of commons by the independents, pretended to make a merit of it, in respect of their loyalty. And some of them had the confidence to present themselves to king Charles the second, both before and after his restoration, as sufferers for the crown ; though they had been violent sticklers against it : this, their behaviour, our poet ridicules in many places of this canto.

<sup>8</sup> To make out the grammatical construction, this verse must be connected with verse 790.

<sup>9</sup> *And tho' it have the pique, and long,*

*'Tis still for something in the wrong :]* *Pica* is a depraved appetite, or desire of improper food, to which pregnant women, or sickly females, are sometimes subject.



R Cooper sculpt

**CHARLES the SECOND.**

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ASTOR, LENOX AND  
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As women long when they 're with child,  
 For things extravagant and wild ;  
 For meats ridiculous and fulsome,  
 But seldom any thing that's wholesome ;  
 And, like the world, men's jobbernoles 815  
 Turn round upon their ears, the poles ;<sup>1</sup>  
 And what they 're confidently told,  
 By no sense else can be controll'd.

And this, perhaps, may be the means  
 Once more to hedge in providence. 820  
 For as relapses make diseases  
 More desp'rate than their first accesses ;  
 If we but get again in pow'r,  
 Our work is easier than before ;  
 And we more ready and expert 825  
 I' th' mystery, to do our part :  
 We, who did rather undertake  
 The first war to create, than make ;<sup>2</sup>  
 And when of nothing 'twas begun,<sup>3</sup>  
 Rais'd funds as strange, to carry 't on : 830  
 Trepann'd the state, and fac'd it down,  
 With plots and projects of our own :

<sup>1</sup> *And, like the world, men's jobbernoles*

*Turn round upon their ears, the poles ;*] Men's *heads* are turned with the lies and nonsense which they hear, and attend to. See v. 1008.

<sup>2</sup> *We, who did rather undertake*

*The first war to create, than make ;*] By creating war, he means, finding pretences for it, stirring up and fomenting it. By making war, he means waging and carrying it on.

<sup>3</sup> *And when of nothing 'twas begun,*] Upon no occasion or provocation.



And if we did such feats at first,  
 What can we now we're better vers'd ?  
 Who have a freer latitude 835  
 Than sinners give themselves, allow'd ;  
 And therefore likeliest to bring in,  
 On fairest terms, our discipline ;  
 To which it was reveal'd long since  
 We were ordain'd by Providence, 840  
 When three saints' ears, our predecessors,  
 The cause's primitive confessors,<sup>a</sup>  
 B'ing crucify'd, the nation stood  
 In just so many years of blood,<sup>b</sup>  
 That, multiply'd by six, express'd 845  
 The perfect number of the beast,<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *When three saints' ears, our predecessors,*

*The cause's primitive confessors,*] Burton, Prynne and Bastwick, three busy writers at the beginning of the civil war, were set in the pillory, and had their ears cropt. Hence the poet jocosely calls them primitive confessors. The severe sentence which was passed on these persons, and on Leighton, contributed much to inflame the minds of men, and to incense them against the bishops, the star-chamber, and the government.

<sup>b</sup> *In just so many years of blood,*] The civil war lasted six years, from 1642, till the death of the king in 1648-9.

<sup>c</sup> *That, multiply'd by six, express'd*

*The perfect number of the beast,*] Alluding to Revelations, ch. xiii. 18. "Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding "count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; "and his number is six hundred threescore and six." The multiplication of three units by six, gives three sixes, and the juxtaposition of three sixes makes 666, or, which comes to the same thing—three units placed by the side of each other (111) is one hundred and eleven, which, multiplied by (6) six, is equal to (666) six hundred sixty-six, the number of the beast. This mysterious number and name excited the curiosity of mankind so early, that even

And prov'd that we must be the men  
To bring this work about agen ;

in the second century, Irenæus started various conjectures on the subject. He supposes the name may be *Evanthas*, *Lateinos*, *Teitan*, &c. which last he prefers. But he adds, with a modesty ill-imitated by later expositors—" Yet, I venture not to pronounce positively " concerning the name of antichrist: for, had it been intended to " be openly proclaimed to the present generation, it would have " been uttered by the same person who saw the revelation." Fevardent discovered this number in the name of Martin Luther, which originally, he says, was Martin *Lauter*.\*

That this mark of antichrist engaged the attention of the sectaries, will appear by the following quotation from the pretended post-humous works of Mr. Butler, in the character of an assembly man.

---

\* From Fevardent's Notes on Irenæus, l. v. c. 30. p. 487. ed. Paris. folio, A. D. 1675. Initio vocabatur *Martin Lauter*; cujus nominis literas si Pythagorice et ratione subducas et more Hebræorum et Græcorum alphabeti crescat numerus, primo monadum, deinde decadum hinc centuriarum, numerus nominis Bestiæ, id est, 666, tandem perfectum comperies, hoc pacto.

M	30	L	20								
A	1	A	1	300	5	10	300	1	50		
R	80	U	200	T	E	I	T	A	N		
T	100	T	100	Equal to 666.							
I	9	E	5								
N	40	R	80								

I can make nothing of Luther, nor of the Greek alphabet; but let me read *Lauter*, and make numerals of the Latin alphabet, and then things will fadge or fit. Other names applicable to antichrist, collected by Fevardent from various authors are :

1 <i>Εβανθας</i>	2 <i>Λατεινος</i>	3 <i>Τειταν</i>
4 <i>Αρνουμαι</i>	5 <i>Λαμπεις</i>	6 <i>Ο Νικητης</i>
7 <i>Κακος οδηγος</i>	8 <i>Αληθης βλαβερος</i>	
9 <i>Παλαι βασκανος</i>	10 <i>Αμνος αδικος</i>	
11 <i>Αντεμος</i>	12 <i>Γενσηρικος</i>	

The three first Greek names are proposed by Irenæus. Fevardent prefers *Maometis* to them all.

Irenæus's rational reflection on the whole is luckily preserved in

And those who laid the first foundation,  
 Compleat the thorough reformation : 850  
 For who have gifts to carry on  
 So great a work, but we alone ?  
 What churches have such able pastors,  
 And precious, powerful, preaching masters ?  
 Possess'd with absolute dominions 855  
 O'er brethren's purses and opinions,  
 And trusted with the double keys  
 Of heav'n, and their warehouses ;

" O how they have torn poor bishops names to pick out the number  
 " 666. Little dreaming that an whole baker's dozen of their own  
 " assembly have that beastly number in each of their names ; and  
 " that as exactly as their solemn league and covenant consists of 666  
 " words." Or from the character of an hermetic philosopher,  
 written by Butler himself : " By this means they have found out  
 " who is the true owner of the beast in the apocalypse, which has  
 " long passed for a stray among the learned ; what is the true pro-  
 " duct of 666, that has rung like Whittington's bells in the ears of  
 " expositors." But some have thought that this passage alludes not  
 to the apocalyptic, but to the independent beast, and explain i  
 thus : " *In just three years of blood*, for the king set up his standard  
 " in August 1642, and the battle of Naseby was fought in June 1645,  
 " which proved the deciding battle," says Ludlow, " the king's party  
 " after that time never making any considerable opposition, which  
 " three bloody years, thus answering to three confessors, being mul-  
 " tiplied by six, the number of their crucified ears, expressed the  
 " perfect number of years in which the independent beast should  
 " prevail, namely 18, reckoning from the commencement of the war  
 " to the restoration."

---

*the original Greek*, (for in general only a barbarous Latin version of  
 this father remains) by Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. v. 8.

Ἡμεῖς οὖν ὅτε ἀποκινδυνεύομεν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου ἀποφαι-  
 νόμενοι βεβαιωτικῶς. Εἰ γὰρ ἴδῃ ἀναφανδὸν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι  
 τοῦτομα αὐτοῦ, δι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἰρρίθῃ τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος.

Who, when the cause is in distress,  
 Can furnish out what sums they please, 860  
 That brooding lie in bankers' hands,  
 To be dispos'd at their commands ;  
 And daily increase and multiply,  
 With doctrine, use, and usury :  
 Can fetch in parties, as in war 865  
 All other heads of cattle are,  
 From th' enemy of all religions,  
 As well as high and low conditions,  
 And share them, from blue ribbands down  
 To all blue aprons in the town ;<sup>7</sup> 870  
 From ladies hurry'd in calleches,  
 With cornets at their footmen's breeches,<sup>8</sup>  
 To bawds as fat as mother Nab,<sup>9</sup>  
 All guts and belly, like a crab.  
 Our party's great, and better ty'd 875  
 With oaths, and trade, than any side ;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *To all blue aprons in the town ;*] Tradesmen and their apprentices took a very active part in the troubles, both by preaching and fighting.

<sup>8</sup> *From ladies hurry'd in calleches,*

*With cornets at their footmen's breeches,*] Calleche, calash, or chariot. Cornets were ornaments which servants wore upon their breeches : though some critics would read coronets.

<sup>9</sup> *To bawds as fat as mother Nab,*] Ladies of this profession are generally described as coarse and fat. The orator means, that the leaders of the faction could fetch in parties of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, from lady Carlisle to the lowest mechanic in a blue apron.

<sup>1</sup> *Our party's great, and better ty'd*

*With oaths, and trade, than any side :*] The strength of the presbyterian party lay in the covenanters, and the citizens.

Has one considerable improvement,  
 To double-fortify the cov'nant ;  
 I mean our covenant to purchase<sup>a</sup>  
 Delinquents' titles, and the church's, 880  
 That pass in sale, from hand to hand,  
 Among ourselves, for current land,  
 And rise or fall, like Indian actions,  
 According to the rate of factions ;  
 Our best reserve for reformation, 885  
 When new outgoings give occasion ;  
 That keeps the loins of brethren girt,  
 Their covenant, their creed, t' assert ;<sup>b</sup>  
 And, when they've pack'd a parliament,  
 Will once more try th' expedient : 890  
 Who can already muster friends,  
 To serve for members to our ends,

<sup>a</sup> *To double-fortify the cov'nant ;*

*I mean our covenant to purchase]* In the first line, the word cov'nant is two syllables, in the second line it is three.\*

<sup>b</sup> *That keeps the loins of brethren girt,*

*Their covenant, their creed, t' assert :]* A lay preacher at Banbury said, " We know, O Lord, that Abraham made a covenant, and " Moses and David made a covenant, and our Saviour made a covenant, but the parliament's covenant is the greatest of all covenants." The marquis of Hamilton being sent into Scotland to appease the troubles there, demanded of the Scotch that they should renounce the covenant ; they answered, that they would sooner renounce their baptism.

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\* Where one word ends with a vowel, and the next begins with one, Butler either leaves them as two syllables, or contracts them into one, as best suits his verse. Where a vowel is a word by itself, it is sometimes, perhaps, not reckoned in scanning. See P. i. c. ii. v. 705, and P. ii. c. ii. v. 670.

That represent no part o' th' nation,  
 But Fisher's-folly congregation ;<sup>4</sup>  
 Are only tools to our intrigues, 895  
 And sit like geese to hatch our eggs ;  
 Who, by their precedents of wit,  
 T' outfast, outloiter, and outsit,<sup>5</sup>  
 Can order matters under-hand,  
 To put all bus'ness to a stand ; 900  
 Lay public bills aside, for private,  
 And make 'em one another drive out ;  
 Divert the great and necessary,  
 With trifles to contest and vary ;  
 And make the nation represent, 905  
 And serve for us in parliament ;

<sup>4</sup> *That represent no part o' th' nation,*

*But Fisher's-folly congregation ;*] Jasper Fisher, one of the six clerks in chancery, spent his fortune in laying out magnificent gardens, and building a fine house ; which, therefore, was called Fisher's Folly. It was afterward used as a conventicle ; perhaps of quakers. See Fuller's Worthies, p. 197, and Stowe's Survey. The place where the house stood is now Devonshire-square, in the city. Here is an equivocal on the word *represent*. It means either to stand in the place of, and be substituted by others, or to resemble, and be like them. In the first sense, the members they should pack, would represent their constituents ; but in the latter sense, only a meeting of enthusiastic sectaries.

<sup>5</sup> *Who, by their precedents of wit,*

*T' outfast, outloiter, and outsit,]* By these arts and methods, the leaders on the parliament side, defeated the purposes of the loyalists, and carried such points in the house as were disagreeable to the sober part, and indeed, to the majority. Thus the remonstrance was carried, as lord Clarendon says, merely by the hour of the night ; the debates being continued till two o'clock, and very many having withdrawn out of pure faintness and disability to attend the conclusion. The bill against episcopacy, and others, were carried by out-

Cut out more work than can be done  
 In Plato's year,<sup>6</sup> but finish none,  
 Unless it be the bulls of Lenthal,  
 That always pass'd for fundamental :<sup>7</sup> 910  
 Can set up grandee against grandee,  
 To squander time away, and bandy ;  
 Make lords and commoners lay sieges  
 To one another's privileges ;  
 And, rather than compound the quarrel, 915  
 Engage, to th' inevitable peril  
 Of both their ruins, th' only scope  
 And consolation of our hope ;  
 Who, tho' we do not play the game,  
 Assist as much by giving aim ;<sup>8</sup> 920

fasting, and out-sitting those who opposed it: which made lord Falkland say, that they who hated bishops, hated them worse than the devil, and they who loved them, loved them not so well as their own dinners.

<sup>6</sup> *Cut out more work than can be done*

*In Plato's year,——]* The Platonic year, or time required for a complete revolution of the entire machine of the world, has by some been made to consist of 4000 common years: others have thought it must extend to 26,000, or still more. *Magnus annus tum efficitur, cum solis, et lunæ, et quinque errantium, ad eandem inter se comparisonem confectis omnium spatiis est facta conversio. Quæ quam longa sit, magna quæstio est.* Cicero de Nat. Deor. ii. 20.

<sup>7</sup> *—— but finish none,*

*Unless it be the bulls of Lenthal,*

*That always pass'd for fundamental :]* The ordinances published by the house of commons were signed by Lenthal, the speaker: and are therefore called the bulls of Lenthal. They may be termed fundamentals, because many of them were issued by order of the rump parliament.

<sup>8</sup> *Assist as much by giving aim,]* Or in the bowler's phrase, by *giving ground.*



H. Cooper sculp.

WILLIAM PITT THE ELDER.

*Speaker of the House of Commons*

*From a Portrait by Cooper*

PUBLISHED BY CHARLES & HENRY RAY, 10, NEWGATE STREET.



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ASTOR, LENOX AND  
TILDEN FOUNDATION

Can introduce our ancient arts,  
 For heads of factions t' act their parts ;  
 Know what a leading voice is worth,  
 A seconding, a third, or fourth ;  
 How much a casting voice comes to, 925  
 That turns up trump of Ay, or No ;  
 And, by adjusting all at th' end,  
 Share ev'ry one his dividend.  
 An art that so much study cost,  
 And now's in danger to be lost, 930  
 Unless our ancient virtuosos,  
 That found it out, get into th' houses.  
 These are the courses that we took  
 To carry things by hook or crook,<sup>9</sup>  
 And practis'd down from forty-four, 935  
 Until they turn'd us out of door :<sup>1</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *These are the courses that we took*

*To carry things by hook or crook,*] Crook and Hutton were the only judges who dissented from their brethren, when the case of ship-money was argued in the exchequer: which occasioned the wags to say, that the king carried it by Hook, but not by Crook: Dr. Grey on the passage; but the saying is of much older date, and only applied as a pun by Butler, and the wits of the reign of Charles the first. We find it used by Skelton, and by Spenser frequently, B. v. c. i. st. 27.

"The which her sire had scrapt by hooke and crooke;"  
 and again, B. iii. c. i. st. 17:

"In hopes her to attaine by hooke or crooke."

[The fact is that *hook* is the same as *crook*. See our old Dictionaries. The original meaning, therefore, was, either in one form or the other. Todd. Minshew explains it *per fas aut nefas*.]

<sup>1</sup> *And practis'd down from from forty-four,*

*Until they turn'd us out of door:*] From the time of the self-denying ordinance 1644, when the presbyterians were turned out from all places of profit and power; till December 7, 1648, when

Besides the herds of Boutefeus  
 We set on work, without the house,  
 When ev'ry knight and citizen  
 Kept legislative journeymen, 940  
 To bring them in intelligence,  
 From all points of the rabble's sense,  
 And fill the lobbies of both houses  
 With politic important buzzes ;  
 Set up committees of cabals,<sup>2</sup> 945  
 To pack designs without the walls ;  
 Examine and draw up all news,  
 And fit it to our present use ;  
 Agree upon the plot o' th' farce,  
 And ev'ry one his part rehearse ; 950  
 Make Q's of answers, to way-lay  
 What th' other party's like to say ;<sup>3</sup>  
 What repartees, and smart reflections,  
 Shall be return'd to all objections ;  
 And who shall break the master jest, 955  
 And what, and how, upon the rest ;  
 Help pamphlets out, with safe editions,  
 Of proper slanders and seditions,

they were turned out of the parliament-house by colonel Pride, forty-one members seized by the soldiers, and one hundred and sixty excluded.

<sup>2</sup> *Set up committees of cabals,*] The poet probably alludes to the ministers of Charles the second, the initials of whose names make up the word cabal, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, Lauderdale.

<sup>3</sup> *Make Q's of answers to waylay,*  
*What th' other party's like to say;*] Prisoners in Newgate, and other gaols, have often sham-examinations, to prepare them with answers for their real trials.

And treason for a token send,  
 By letter, to a country friend ; 960  
 Disperse lampoons, the only wit  
 That men, like burglary commit,  
 With falser than a padder's face,  
 'That all its owner does betrays ;  
 Who therefore dares not trust it, when 965  
 He's in his calling, to be seen.\*  
 Disperse the dung on barren earth,  
 To bring new weeds of discord forth ;  
 Be sure to keep up congregations,  
 In spite of laws and proclamations : 970  
 For charlatans can do no good,  
 Until they're mounted in a crowd ;  
 And when they're punish'd, all the hurt  
 Is but to fare the better for't ;  
 As long as confessors are sure 975  
 Of double pay for all th' endure,†

\* *Who therefore dares not trust it, when*

*He's in his calling, to be seen ;*] Padders, or highwaymen, frequently cover their faces with a mask or piece of crape.

† *As long as confessors are sure*

*Of double pay for all th' endure,*] Alluding to the three persons before-mentioned, Burton, Prynne and Bastwick, who, having been pilloried, fined, and banished to different parts of the kingdoms, by the sentence of the star-chamber, were by the parliament afterward recalled, and rewarded out of the estates of those who had punished them. In their way back to London they were honoured with loud acclamations, and received many presents.

— silenc'd ministers,

That get estates by being undone  
 For tender conscience, and have none :  
 Like those that with their credit drive  
 A trade without a stock, and thrive.

Butler's Remains, vol. i. p. 63.

And what they earn in persecution,  
 Are paid t' a groat in contribution :  
 Whence some tub holdersforth have made  
 In powd'ring tubs their richest trade ; 980  
 And, while they kept their shops in prison,  
 Have found their prices strangely risen.<sup>6</sup>  
 Disdain to own the least regret  
 For all the christian blood we've let ;  
 'Twill save our credit, and maintain 985  
 Our title to do so again ;  
 That needs not cost one dram of sense,  
 But pertinacious impudence.  
 Our constancy t' our principles,  
 In time will wear out all things else ; 990  
 Like marble statues, rubb'd in pieces  
 With gallantry of pilgrims' kisses ;<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Whence some tub holdersforth have made*

*In powd'ring tubs their richest trade ;*

*And, while they kept their shops in prison,*

*Have found their prices strangely risen.*] Probably powdering-tubs here signifies prisons. See P. iii. c. iii. l. 210. When any one is in a bad scrape, he is said to be in a pretty pickle. See P. ii. c. i. v. 366. [Ancient Pistol throws some light upon this passage when he bids Nym

“ to the spital go,

“ And from the *powdering tub* of infamy

“ Fetch forth the lazar kite of Cressid's kind,

“ Doll Tearsheet she by name, and her espouse.”

Butler may mean that some of the tub-holdersforth kept houses of ill fame, from whence the transit to the powdering tub was frequent. Such persons are also not unfrequently sent to prison, and persecution has ever the effect of raising the *prices* of the doctrines of the persecuted.]

<sup>7</sup> *With gallantry of pilgrims' kisses ;*] Round the Casa Santa of Loretto, the marble is worn into a deep channel, by the knees and kisses of the pilgrims and others. [The statues both of gods and

While those who turn and wind their oaths,  
 Have swell'd and sunk, like other froths;  
 Prevail'd a while, but 'twas not long 995  
 Before from world to world they swung;  
 As they had turn'd from side to side,  
 And as the changelings liv'd, they dy'd.

This said, th' impatient statesmonger  
 Could now contain himself no longer,<sup>a</sup> 1000  
 Who had not spar'd to shew his piques<sup>b</sup>  
 Against th' haranguer's politics,  
 With smart remarks of leering faces,  
 And annotations of grimaces.

After he had administer'd a dose<sup>c</sup> 1005  
 Of snuff mundungus to his nose,  
 And powder'd th' inside of his skull,  
 Instead of th' outward jobbernot,<sup>d</sup>  
 He shook it, with a scornful look,  
 On th' adversary, and thus he spoke: 1010

In dressing a calf's head, altho'  
 The tongue and brains together go,  
 Both keep so great a distance here,  
 'Tis strange if ever they come near;

saints have been, and are, worn by the touch of their votaries; of the former the knees were the suffering parts.]

<sup>a</sup> *This said, th' impatient statesmonger*

*Could now contain himself no longer,*] As the former orator, whoever he was, had harangued on the side of the presbyterians, his antagonist, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, now smartly inveighs against them, and justifies the principles and conduct of the independents.

<sup>b</sup> *Who had not spar'd to shew his piques*] His aversion or antipathy.

<sup>c</sup> Some editions read, *minister'd a dose*.

<sup>d</sup> *Instead of th' outward jobbernot,*] That is, thick skull, stupid head, from the Flemish, *jobbe*, insulsus, ignavus, and the Ang. Sax. *cnoll*, vertex.

For who did ever play his gambols 1015  
 With such insufferable rambles,  
 To make the bringing in the king,  
 And keeping of him out, one thing ?  
 Which none could do, but those that swore  
 T' as point-blank nonsense heretofore ; 1020  
 That to defend was to invade,  
 And to assassinate to aid :<sup>3</sup>  
 Unless, because you drove him out,  
 And that was never made a doubt ;  
 No pow'r is able to restore 1025  
 And bring him in, but on your score :  
 A sp'ritual doctrine, that conduces  
 Most properly to all your uses.  
 'Tis true, a scorpion's oil is said  
 To cure the wounds the vermin made ;<sup>4</sup> 1030

<sup>3</sup> *And to assassinate to aid :*] This alludes to Ralph, who was charged with intention to kill the king when imprisoned in the isle of Wight. Lord Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 180, intimates that serjeant Wild, who was sent to Winchester to try the prisoner, gave an unfair charge to the jury, by saying : " There was a time indeed when intentions and words were made treason ; but God forbid it should be so now : how did any body know but that those two men, Osborne and Doucet, would have made away with the king, and that Ralph charged his pistol to preserve him." Perhaps the noble historian here shews something of party spirit.

<sup>4</sup> *'Tis true, a scorpion's oil is said*

*To cure the wounds the vermin made ;*] Dr. Mead, in his Essay on Poisons, says, viper-catchers, if they happen to be bitten by a viper, are so sure of being cured by rubbing the fat upon the place, that they fear a bite no more than they do the prick of a pin. The Doctor himself tried it upon dogs, and found it a sure remedy. He supposes the fat to involve, and, as it were, sheath the volatile salts of the venom. Prodest scorpius ipse suæ plagæ impositus. Pliny in his Natural History, 29. 29.

And weapons, dress'd with salves, restore  
 And heal the hurts they gave before :<sup>a</sup>  
 But whether presbyterians have  
 So much good nature as the salve,  
 Or virtue in them as the vermin, 1085  
 Those who have try'd them can determine.  
 Indeed 'tis pity you should miss  
 Th' arrears of all your services,  
 And for th' eternal obligation  
 Y' have laid upon th' ungrateful nation, 1040  
 B' us'd so unconscionably hard,  
 As not to find a just reward,  
 For letting rapine loose, and murder,  
 To rage just so far, but no further :<sup>a</sup>  
 And setting all the land on fire, 1045  
 To burn t' a scantling, but no higher :  
 For vent'ring to assassinate,  
 And cut the throats of church and state ;

<sup>a</sup> *And weapons, dress'd with salves, restore  
 And heal the hurts they gave before :*] According to sir Kenelm  
 Digby's doctrine of sympathy.

<sup>a</sup> *For letting rapine loose, and murder,  
 To rage just so far, but no further :*] Though the presbyterians  
 began the war, yet they pretended they had no thoughts of occasion-  
 ing that bloodshed and devastation which was consequent upon it.  
 They intended to bring the king to reason, not to murder him. But  
 it happened to them, as to the young magician in Lucian, who, by  
 certain words he had learned of his master, sent a fountain to fetch  
 water; the poor scholar, however, not recollecting the words to  
 make it stop, the fountain went and fetched water without ceasing,  
 till it filled the house up to the windows. A similar tale is related  
 in verse by several poets, both French and English.



And not be allow'd the fittest men  
 To take the charge of both agen : 1050  
 Especially that have the grace  
 Of self-denying gifted face ;  
 Who, when your projects have miscarry'd,  
 Can lay them, with undaunted forehead,  
 On those you painfully trepann'd, 1055  
 And sprinkled in at second hand ;  
 As we have been, to share the guilt  
 Of christian blood, devoutly spilt ;<sup>7</sup>  
 For so our ignorance was flamm'd  
 To damn ourselves, t' avoid being damn'd ;<sup>8</sup>  
 Till finding your old foe, the hangman,  
 Was like to lurch you at backgammon,<sup>9</sup>  
 And win your necks upon the set,  
 As well as ours, who did but bet ;

<sup>7</sup> *Of christian blood, devoutly spilt ;*] The war was begun and carried on by the presbyterians with a great shew of godliness, for the sake of religion, and in defence of the gospel.

<sup>8</sup> *For so our ignorance was flamm'd*

*To damn ourselves, t' avoid being damn'd ;*] To commit such damnable sins as robbery, rebellion, and murder, with a view of keeping out arminianism, popery, &c. which we were made to believe were likely to overspread the kingdom, and would be destructive to our salvation. Thus Martial, Epig. lib. ii. 80.

Hostem cum fugeret, se Fannius ipse peremit.

Hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriari, mori?

<sup>9</sup> *Till finding your old foe, the hangman,*

*Was like to lurch you at backgammon,*] Finding the king was likely to get the better of you, and that we were all in danger of being hanged as traitors, we took the war from your hands into our own management.

For he had drawn your ears before, 1065  
 And nick'd them on the self-same score,  
 We threw the box and dice away,  
 Before y' had lost us at foul play;  
 And brought you down to rook and lie,  
 And fancy only on the by ;<sup>1</sup> 1070  
 Redeem'd your forfeit jobbernoles,  
 From perching upon lofty poles,  
 And rescu'd all your outward traitors,  
 From hanging up, like alligators ;<sup>2</sup>  
 For which ingeniously ye 've shew'd 1075  
 Your presbyterian gratitude ;  
 Would freely have paid us home in kind,  
 And not have been one rope behind.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *And fancy only on the by ;*] *By-bets* are bets made beside the game, often by standers-by: the presbyterians, from being principals in the cause, were reduced to make a secondary figure, and from playing the game became lookers-on.

<sup>2</sup> *From hanging up, like alligators ;*] Alligators were frequently hung up in the shops of quacks, druggists, and apothecaries. Thus Romeo says of the Apothecary :

And in his needy shop a tortoise hung,  
 An alligator stuft, and other skins  
 Of ill-shap'd fishes.

<sup>3</sup> *And not have been one rope behind.*] The Dissenters, when in power, were no enemies to persecution. See *Dissenters Sayings*, by sir Roger L'Estrange, Second Part, printed 1681. Edwards, in his *Full Answer*, p. 244, says: "A toleration of one or more different ways of churches and church government established, will be to this kingdom very mischievous, pernicious, and destructive." Love, in his sermon at Uxbridge, January 30, 1644, p. 26: "I have often thought that too much mercy towards malignants hath made more delinquents than ever justice punished." Marshall, to the commons, February 23, 1641: "He is a cursed man that with-holds

Those were your motives to divide,  
 And scruple, on the other side,<sup>4</sup> 1080  
 To turn your zealous frauds, and force,  
 To fits of conscience and remorse ;  
 To be convinc'd they were in vain,  
 And face about for new again ;  
 For truth no more unveil'd your eyes, 1085  
 Than maggots are convinc'd to flies :<sup>5</sup>  
 And therefore all your lights and calls  
 Are but apocryphal and false,  
 To charge us with the consequences,  
 Of all your native insolences, 1090  
 That to your own imperious wills  
 Laid law and gospel neck and heels ;<sup>6</sup>

“ his hand from shedding of blood ; or shall do it, as Saul did  
 “ against the Amalekites, kill some, and save some.” And Baxter,  
 in his Preface to the Nonconformists Plea, “ Liberty, in all matters  
 “ of worship and of faith, is the open and apparent way to set up  
 “ popery in the land.” Calamy being asked, what he would do  
 with those who differed from him in opinion, said, “ He would not  
 “ meddle with their consciences, only with their persons and estates.”

<sup>4</sup> *Those were your motives to divide,*

*And scruple, on the other side,]* He tells the presbyterians, that  
 their jealousy of the independents caused them to discontinue their  
 exertions, not any conviction of their having been in the wrong.

<sup>5</sup> *For truth no more unveil'd your eyes,*

*Than maggots are convinc'd to flies :]* The change was produced  
 in them merely by the course of their nature. The edition of 1710  
 reads :

Than maggots when they turn to flies.

<sup>6</sup> *That to your own imperious wills*

*Laid law and gospel neck and heels ;]* Some persons have  
 sought for a system of natural philosophy in the Old Testament,  
 “ inter viva quærentes mortua,” as lord Bacon says : who wisely

Corrupted the Old Testament,  
 To serve the New for precedent ;  
 T' amend its errors and defects, 1095  
 With murder and rebellion texts ;<sup>7</sup>  
 Of which there is not any one  
 In all the book to sow upon ;  
 And therefore, from your tribe, the Jews  
 Held christian doctrine forth, and use ; 1100  
 As Mahomet, your chief, began  
 To mix them in the Alcoran ;<sup>8</sup>

adds, “ tantoque magis hæc vanitas inhibenda venit, et coërcenda,  
 “ quia ex divinorum et humanorum mælesana admistione, non solum  
 “ educitur philosophia phantastica, sed etiam religio hæretica.”  
 Novum organum, sect. lxv. Others have there found, or thought  
 they found, the sublimest doctrines of christianity. The famous  
 Postellus observed, that there were eleven thousand proofs of the  
 Trinity in the Old Testament, interpreted rightly, that is, *ετυμολο-*  
*γικως, καβαλιστικως.*

<sup>7</sup> *Corrupted the Old Testament,  
 To serve the New for precedent ;  
 T' amend its errors and defects,*

*With murder and rebellion texts ;*] The presbyterians, he says,  
 finding no countenance for their purposes in the New Testament,  
 took their measures of obedience from some instances of rebellion  
 in the Old. The presbyterian printer, who printed the seventh  
 commandment, Thou *shalt* commit adultery, was heavily fined for  
 his blunder.

<sup>8</sup> *As Mahomet, your chief, began*

*To mix them in the Alcoran ;*] In his Pindaric Ode upon an  
 hypocritical non-conformist, Remains, vol. i. p. 135, Mr. Butler  
 says :

For the Turks patriarch, Mahomet,  
 Was the first great reformer, and the chief  
 Of th' ancient christian belief,  
 That mix'd it with new light and cheat,

Denounc'd and pray'd, with fierce devotion,  
 And bended elbows on the cushion ;  
 Stole from the beggars all your tones,      1105  
 And gifted mortifying groans ;  
 Had lights where better eyes were blind,  
 As pigs are said to see the wind ;<sup>2</sup>  
 Fill'd Bedlam with predestination,  
 And Knightsbridge with illumination ;<sup>1</sup>      1110  
 Made children, with your tones, to run for 't,  
 As bad as Bloodybones or Lunsford.<sup>3</sup>

With revelations, dreams, and visions,  
 And apostolic superstitions,  
 To be held forth, and carry'd on by war :  
 And his successor was a presbyter.

<sup>2</sup> *As pigs are said to see the wind ;*] Pigs have remarkable small eyes, and yet are said to be very sagacious in foretelling wind and weather. Thus, in a poem entitled *Hudibras at Court*, we read :

And now, as hogs can see the wind,  
 And storms at distance coming find.

This observation occurs three times in the books falsely called the *Posthumous Works of Mr. Samuel Butler*, 4th edition, 1732. Plutarch remarks a peculiarity in pigs' eyes. They are so situated and constructed, that the animal cannot look upwards, and never hath a view of the heavens till he is thrown upon his back, and then, clamorous as he is, astonishment and terror silence him in an instant.

<sup>1</sup> *And Knightsbridge with illumination ;*] At this village, near London, was a famous mad-house, to which the poet alludes.

<sup>3</sup> *Made children, with your tones, to run for 't,*

*As bad as Bloodybones or Lunsford.*] Frightened children as much by your preaching, as if you had told them the dismal story of Raw-head and Bloody-bones, or had related to them the cruelties, which you affirm were practised by colonel Lunsford. Colonel Lunsford, killed at Bristol, 1643, was a man of great sobriety, industry, and courage ; but his enemies painted him as a cruel brute. Sir Thomas



SIR THOMAS MANNERS.  
*From an Unique Print in the British Museum.*

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ASTOR, LENOX AND  
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While women, great with child, miscarry'd,  
For being to malignants marry'd :

Lunsford was made lieutenant of the Tower by the king, a little before the beginning of the war : but afterwards removed by him at the desire of the parliament. An order was made in the parliament for suppressing Lunsford and lord Digby, though at the same time all the cavalry they had was an hired coach and six horses. In the third act of sir Robert Howard's comedy of *The Committee*, the first Bailiff says :

O! 'tis a bloody-minded man !

I'll warrant you this vile cavalier has eat many a child.

[Dr. Grey says : It was one of the artifices of the malcontents in the civil war to raise false alarms, and to fill the people full of frightful apprehensions. In particular they raised a terrible outcry of the imaginary danger they conceived from the lord Digby, and colonel Lunsford. Lilbourn glories upon his trial, for being an incendiary on such occasions, and mentions the tumult he raised against the innocent colonel, as a meritorious action : " I was once arraigned," says he, " before the house of peers, for sticking close to the liberties and privileges of this nation, and those that stood for them, " being one of those two or three men that first drew their swords in " Westminster-hall against colonel Lunsford, and some scores of his " associates. At that time it was supposed they intended to cut the " throats of the chiefest men then sitting in the house of peers." And to render him the more odious, they reported that he was of so brutal an appetite, that he would eat children, (Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 286.) which scandalous insinuation is deservedly ridiculed in the following lines :

From Fielding, and from Vavasour,

Both ill-affected men ;

From Lunsford eke deliver us,

That eateth up children.

The Parliament Hymns, Collection of Loyal Songs,  
vol. i. No. xvii. p. 38.

Cleveland banters them upon the same head :

The post that came from Banbury,

Riding in a blue rocket,

He swore he saw, when Lunsford fell,

A child's arm in his pocket.



Transform'd all wives to Dalilahs, 1115  
 Whose husbands were not for the cause ;<sup>3</sup>  
 And turn'd the men to ten-horn'd cattle,  
 Because they came not out to battle ;<sup>4</sup>  
 Made tailors' 'prentices turn heroes,  
 For fear of being transform'd to Meroz,<sup>5</sup> 1120  
 And rather forfeit their indentures,  
 Than not espouse the saints' adventures :

And to make this gentleman the more detestable, they made horrid pictures of him, as we learn from the following lines of Mr. Cleveland. Rupertismus, Works, 1677, p. 67 :

" They fear the giblets of his train, they fear

" Even his dog, that four-legg'd cavalier ;

" He that devours the scraps which Lunsford makes,

" Whose picture feeds upon a child in stakes."

Mr. Gayton, in banter of this idle opinion, (see Notes on Don Quixote, book iii. chap. vi. p. 103.) calls Saturn, the very Lunsford of the deities.]

<sup>3</sup> *Transform'd all wives to Dalilahs,*

*Whose husbands were not for the cause ;*] If the husband sided not with the presbyterians, his wife was represented as insidious and a betrayer of her country's interest, such as Dalilah was to Samson and the Israelites. Judges xvi.

<sup>4</sup> *And turn'd the men to ten-horn'd cattle,*

*Because they came not out to battle ;*] Resembled them to the ten horns, or ten kings, who gave their power and strength to the beast. Revelations, xvii. 12. See also Daniel vii. v. 7. A cuckold is called a horned beast ; a notorious cuckold may be called a ten-horned beast, there being no beast known with more horns than the beast in vision.

<sup>5</sup> *Made tailors' 'prentices turn heroes,*

*For fear of being transform'd to Meroz,*] " Curse ye, Meroz," said the angel of the Lord ; " Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants " thereof ; because they came not to the help of the Lord against " the mighty." Judges v. 23. This was a favourite text with those who preached for the parliament ; and it assisted them much in raising recruits.

Could transubstantiate, metamorphose,  
 And charm whole herds of beasts, like Orpheus;<sup>6</sup>  
 Enchant the king's and church's lands,      1125  
 T<sup>e</sup> obey and follow your commands,  
 And settle on a new freehold,  
 As Marcle-hill had done of old:<sup>7</sup>  
 Could turn the cov'nant, and translate  
 The gospel into spoons and plate;      1130  
 Expound upon all merchants' cashes,  
 And open th' intricate places;  
 Could catechize a money-box,  
 And prove all pouches orthodox;

<sup>6</sup> *And charm whole herds of beasts, like Orpheus;*]

Mulcentem tigres, et agentem carmine quercus.

Georg. iv. 510.

<sup>7</sup> *And settle on a new freehold,*

*As Marcle-hill had done of old:]* Not far from Ledbury, in Herefordshire, toward the conflux of the Lug and Wye, in the parish of Marcle, is a hill, which in the year 1575 moved to a considerable distance. Philips in his Cider (p. 12. l. 801. ed. Dunster), speaking of Marcle-hill, says:

Deceitful ground, who knows but that once more  
 The mount may journey, and his present site  
 Forsaking, to thy neighbours bounds transfer  
 The goodly plants, affording matter strange  
 For law debates——

Camden, in his Life of Queen Elizabeth, book ii. p. 20. thinks the motion was occasioned by an earthquake, which he calls brasmatia; though the cause of it more probably was a subterraneous current. Some houses and a chapel were overturned. I remember an accident of this kind which happened near Grafton, on the side of Bredon-hill, and another near Broseley in Shropshire. A similar phenomenon was observed at Eroge, in Judea, in the time of king Uzziah, and is recorded by Josephus, lib. ix. cap. 11.

Until the cause became a Damon, 1135  
And Pythias the wicked Mammon.\*

And yet, in spite of all your charms  
To conjure legions up in arms,  
And raise more devils in the rout  
Than e'er y' were able to cast out, 1140

\* *Until the cause became a Damon,*

*And Pythias the wicked Mammon.*] Until Mammon and the cause were as closely united, and as dear friends as Damon and Pythias, two persons whose friendship is celebrated by Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, and others. In Jamblichus's *Life of Pythagoras*, No. 234, this story is related at length from Aristoxenus, who heard it from the mouth of Dionysius himself, the tyrant concerned, after he was dispossessed of the sovereignty, and become a schoolmaster at Corinth. As it rests upon better authority than such narratives in general can appeal to, it is here abridged for the amusement of the reader. Though I must first observe, that the true name of one of those friends was not Pythias, but Phintias. See Porphyr. in *vita Pythagoræ*, ult. p. 53. ed. Kuster. Tull. *de Offic.* iii. 10. and Lactantius, v. 17.—The courtiers of Dionysius the younger, tyrant of Sicily, contended in his presence, that the boasted virtues of the Pythagoreans, their determined spirit, their apathy, their firmness in friendship, were all mere illusions, which would vanish on the first appearance of danger or distress. To prove this assertion, they agreed to accuse Phintias, one of the sect, of a conspiracy against the sovereign. He was summoned before the tyrant, who informed him of the charge, and to his great surprise added, that there was the fullest evidence of his guilt, and he must die. Phintias replied, if it were so, he would only beg the respite of a few hours, while he might go home, and settle the common concerns of his friend Damon and himself: in the mean time, Damon would be security for his appearance. Dionysius assented to the proposal; and when Damon surrendered himself the courtiers all sneered, concluding, that he was become the dupe of his own credulity. But, on the return of Phintias in the evening, to release his bail, and submit to his sentence, they were quite astonished; and none more than the tyrant himself, who embraced the illustrious pair, and requested they would admit him to a share in their friendship.

Y' have been reduc'd, and by those fools,  
 Bred up, you say, in your own schools,  
 Who, tho' but gifted at your feet,\*  
 Have made it plain they have more wit,  
 By whom you've been so oft' trepann'd, 1145  
 And held forth out of all command :  
 Out-gifted, out-impuls'd, out-done,  
 And out-reveal'd at carryings-on ;  
 Of all your dispensations worm'd,  
 Out-providenc'd and out-reform'd ; 1150  
 Ejected out of church and state,  
 And all things but the people's hate ;  
 And spirited out of th' enjoyments  
 Of precious, edifying employments,  
 By those who lodg'd their gifts and graces,  
 Like better bowlers, in your places :  
 All which you bore with resolution,  
 Charg'd on th' account of persecution ;  
 And tho' most righteously oppress'd,  
 Against your wills, still acquiesc'd ; 1160  
 And never humm'd and hah'd sedition,  
 Nor snuffled treason, nor misprision :  
 That is, because you never durst ;  
 For had you preach'd and pray'd your worst,  
 Alas ! you were no longer able 1165  
 To raise your posse of the rabble :  
 One single redcoat sentinel  
 Outcharm'd the magic of the spell,

\* *Who, tho' but gifted at your feet,]*

" Bred up at the feet of Gamaliel."

And, with his squirt-fire,<sup>1</sup> could disperse  
 Whole troops with chapter rais'd and verse.  
 We knew too well those tricks of yours,  
 To leave it ever in your powers,  
 Or trust our safeties, or undoings,  
 To your disposing of outgoings,  
 Or to your ordering providence, 1175  
 One farthing's worth of consequence.  
 For had you pow'r to undermine,  
 Or wit to carry a design,  
 Or correspondence to trepan,  
 Inveigle, or betray one man; 1180  
 There's nothing else that intervenes,  
 And bars your zeal to use the means;  
 And therefore wond'rous like, no doubt,  
 To bring in kings, or keep them out:  
 Brave undertakers to restore, 1185  
 That could not keep yourselves in pow'r;  
 T' advance the int'rests of the crown,  
 That wanted wit to keep your own.  
 'Tis true you have, for I'd be loth  
 To wrong ye, done your parts in both; 1190  
 To keep him out, and bring him in,  
 As grace is introduc'd by sin:<sup>2</sup>  
 For 'twas your zealous want of sense,  
 And sanctify'd impertinence;

<sup>1</sup> *And, with his squirt-fire,—*] His musket, so called in the true spirit of burlesque.

<sup>2</sup> *As grace is introduc'd by sin :*] Thus Saint Paul to the Romans:  
 " Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound?"

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A. Cooper sculp.

THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX.

*From a Picture by Walker.*

PUBLISHED BY CHARLES HENRY BALDWIN, NEWBURY STREET.

Your carrying bus'ness in a huddle, 1195  
 That forc'd our rulers to new-model ;  
 Oblig'd the state to tack about,  
 And turn you, root and branch, all out ;  
 To reformado, one and all,  
 T' your great croysado general :<sup>3</sup> 1200

<sup>3</sup> *To reformado, one and all,*

*T' your great croysado general :*] The parliament, that they might not seem to continue the war from any regard to their own interest and advantage, passed a vote, December 9, 1644, to prevent the members of either house from holding offices in the state. This was called the self-denying ordinance. The secret intention of it was, to lessen the influence of the presbyterians, which it soon effected, by depriving Essex, their general, and many others, of their employments. He calls him their croisado-general, because they pretended to engage in the war chiefly on account of religion : the holy war against the Turks and Saracens had the name of croisado, from the cross displayed on the banners. The old annotator, and after him Doctor Grey, tells us, that the general here designed was Fairfax. But neither the scope of the poet, nor the truth of history, will admit of this application of the passage. For the person who speaks is an independent, and he tells the presbyterian, that the independents were obliged to turn out the presbyterians and their general. This suits exactly with Essex, who altogether espoused the presbyterian interest ; and was laid aside, with the rest of the presbyterians, by the contrivance above-mentioned. Whereas Fairfax, though he thought himself a presbyterian, as lord Clarendon says, was always linked with the independents, and executed their designs. He was first raised to the command by the intrigues of Cromwell and Ireton, because they knew him to be an easy man, one who would submit to their direction. Neither is it true, that Fairfax was dismissed. On the contrary, he laid down his commission, though Cromwell, Whitelock, and the heads of the party, desired him to keep his command, and a solemn conference was held with him, the particulars whereof may be seen in Whitelock's Memorial. The reader must constantly remember, that it is an independent here speaking, defending his sect against the former speaker, who was a presbyterian.



Your greedy slav'ring to devour,<sup>4</sup>  
 Before 'twas in your clutches' pow'r ;  
 That sprung the game you were to set,  
 Before ye 'ad time to draw the net :  
 Your spite to see the church's lands                    1205  
 Divided into other hands,  
 And all your sacrilegious ventures  
 Laid out in tickets and debentures :  
 Your envy to be sprinkled down,  
 By under-churches in the town ;<sup>5</sup>                    1210  
 And no course us'd to stop their mouths,  
 Nor th' independents' spreading growths :  
 All which consider'd, 'tis most true  
 None bring him in so much as you,  
 Who have prevail'd beyond their plots,<sup>6</sup>                    1215  
 Their midnight juntos, and seal'd knots ;  
 That thrive more by your zealous piques,  
 Than all their own rash politics.  
 And this way you may claim a share  
 In carrying, as you brag, th' affair,                    1220  
 Else frogs and toads, that croak'd the Jews  
 From Pharaoh and his brick-kilns loose,  
 And flies and mange, that set them free  
 From task-masters and slavery,

<sup>4</sup> *Your greedy slav'ring to devour,*] That is, letting your mouths greedily water.

<sup>5</sup> *Your envy to be sprinkled down,*  
*By under-churches in the town ;*] Your impatience under the disgrace of being out-preached by the independent teachers.

<sup>6</sup> *Who have prevail'd beyond their plots,*] The plots of the royalists, I think, are here meant, though in that sense the passage is not strictly grammatical.

Were likelier to do the feat, 1225  
 In any indiff'rent man's conceit :  
 For who e'er heard of restoration,  
 Until your thorough reformation ?<sup>7</sup>  
 That is, the king's and church's lands  
 Were sequester'd int' other hands : 1230  
 For only then, and not before,  
 Your eyes were open'd to restore ;  
 And when the work was carrying on,  
 Who cross'd it, but yourselves alone ?  
 As by a world of hints appears, 1235  
 All plain, and extant, as your ears.\*  
 But first, o' th' first : The isle of Wight  
 Will rise up, if you shou'd deny 't ;  
 Where Henderson and th' other masses,<sup>9</sup>  
 Were sent to cap texts, and put cases : 1240

<sup>7</sup> *For who e'er heard of restoration,*

*Until your thorough reformation ?*] The independent here charges the presbyterians with having no design of restoring the king, notwithstanding the merit they made of such intentions after the restoration, until they were turned out of all profit by sale of the crown and church lands, and that it was not their loyalty, but their disappointment and resentment against the independents, that made them think of treating with the king.

\* *All plain, and extant, as your ears.*] May be spoken in ridicule, because many of the presbyterians had lost their ears in the pillory. Or the poet may recollect his " long ear'd rout." In Dryden's *Hind and Panther*, we have a similar allusion :

And pricks up his predestinating ears.

<sup>9</sup> *Where Henderson and th' other masses,*] That is, the other divines. Ministers in those days were called masters, as they are at the 854th line of this canto. One of this order would have been styled, not the reverend, but master, or master doctor such an one ; and sometimes, for brevity's sake, and familiarly, *mas* ; the plural of which, our poet makes *masses*. See Ben Jonson, and Spectator,

To pass for deep and learned scholars,  
Altho' but paltry Ob and Sollers :<sup>1</sup>

No. 147.\* Mr. Butler, in this place, must be charged with a small anachronism; for the treaty at the isle of Wight was subsequent to the death of Henderson by the space of two years. The divines employed there, were † Marshal, Vines, Caryl, Seaman, Jenkyns, and Shurston, Henderson was present at the Uxbridge treaty; and disputed with the king at Newcastle when he was in the Scottish army. Soon after which he died, as some said, of grief, because he could not convince the king: but as others said, of remorse, for having opposed him. According to these last, while on his death-bed, he published a solemn declaration to the parliament and synod of England, setting forth, that they had been abused with most false aspersions against his majesty; and that they ought to restore him to his full rights, royal throne and dignity, lest an endless character of ingratitude lie upon them. Of the king himself, beside commending his justice, magnanimity, and other virtues, he speaks in these terms: "I do declare before God and the world, "whether in relation to the kirk or state, I found his majesty the "most intelligent man that I ever spake with; as far beyond my "expression as expectation. I profess, I was oftentimes astonished "with the quickness of his reasons and replies: wondered how he, "spending his time in sport and recreations, could have attained to "so great knowledge: and I must confess, that I was convinced in "conscience, and knew not how to give him any reasonable satisfaction. Yet the sweetness of his disposition is such, that whatever I said was well taken. I must say, that I never met with any "disputant of that mild and calm temper, which convinced me, "that his wisdom and moderation could not be without an extraordinary measure of divine grace. I dare say, if his advice had "been followed, all the blood that has been shed, and all the rapine "that has been committed, would have been prevented." If it be true that Henderson made this declaration, it will amount to the highest encomium that could possibly be bestowed upon the king, particularly as coming from the mouth of an enemy.

<sup>1</sup> *Altho' but paltry Ob and Sollers:*] That is, although only contemptible dabblers in school logic. So in Burton's *Melancholy*,

---

\* Andrew Cant is there called *Mas Cant*.

† Carte says, Marshal, Vines, and two others. Stephen Marshal,

As if th' unseasonable fools  
 Had been a coursing in the schools.<sup>2</sup>  
 Until they 'ad prov'd the devil author 1245  
 O' th' covenant, and the cause his daughter ;  
 For when they charg'd him with the guilt  
 Of all the blood that had been spilt,  
 They did not mean he wrought th' effusion  
 In person, like sir Pride, or Hughson,<sup>3</sup> 1250

"A pack of Obs and Sollers." The polemic divines of that age and stamp, filled the margins both of their tracts and sermons with the words Ob and Sol ; the one standing for objection, the other for solution. Bishop Sanderson, in his *Concio ad Aulam*, says—"The devil is an arrand sophister, and will not take an answer, though never so reasonable and satisfactory, but will ever have somewhat or other to reply.—So long as we hold us but to Ob and Sol, to argument and answer, he will never out, but wrangle ad infinitum." So we say, pro and con. The old annotator's note on this passage is so erroneous, as to shew plainly that he could not be Butler.

<sup>2</sup> *Had been a coursing in the schools.*] *Coursing* is a term used in the university of Oxford for some exercises preparatory to a master's degree. They were disputations in Lent, which were regulated by Dr. John Fell ; for before his time, the endeavours of one party to run down and confute another in disputations, did commonly end in blows, and domestic quarrels, the refuge of the vanquished party. Wood's *Athen.* vol. ii. p. 603. Hence, and from another passage or two, it has been thought that Mr. Butler had received an academical education.

<sup>3</sup> — *like sir Pride, or Hughson,*] *Pride* was originally a drayman ; but at last became a famous colonel in the parliament army, was knighted by Cromwell with a faggot stick, hence in derision called *sir Pride*, and made one of his lords in parliament. *Hughson* was at first a shoe-maker or a cobbler, afterwards colonel in the parliament army, and one of Oliver's lords of the upper house.

---

he says, was a bloody man in all his prayers and sermons ; and Mr. Vines a more christian spirit, more modest, learned, pious, and rational in his discourses.

But only those who first begun  
 The quarrel were by him set on ;  
 And who could those be but the saints,  
 Those reformation termagants ?  
 But ere this pass'd, the wise debate                    1255  
 Spent so much time it grew too late ;<sup>4</sup>  
 For Oliver had gotten ground,  
 T<sup>e</sup> enclose him with his warriors round ;  
 Had brought his providence about,  
 And turn'd th' untimely sophists out.<sup>5</sup>                    1260  
     Nor had the Uxbridge bus'ness less  
 Of nonsense in 't, or sottishness ;  
 When from a scoundrel holderforth ,  
 The scum, as well as son o' th' earth,  
 Your mighty senators took law,                    1265  
 At his command were forc'd t' withdraw,

<sup>4</sup> *But ere this pass'd, the wise debate*

*Spent so much time, it grew too late ;*] The treaty at the isle of Wight was appointed at the first for forty days ; then continued for fourteen days longer, then for four, and at last for one more. By this artifice, the king's enemies gave Cromwell time to return from Scotland. Whereas it had been the true interest and policy of all that desired peace and a settlement of the kingdom, to have hastened the treaty while the army was absent.—Lord Clarendon. During the treaty, Cromwell and his officers frequently petitioned parliament to punish delinquents.—Whitelock's Mem.

<sup>5</sup> *And turn th' untimely sophists out.*] Untimely, usually signifies premature, but here, unseasonable.

<sup>6</sup> *When from a scoundrel holderforth,*] Christopher Love, a furious presbyterian, who preached a sermon at Uxbridge during the treaty held there, introducing many reflections upon his majesty's person and government, and stirring up the people against the king's commissioners. He was executed in 1651 for treason, by means of Cromwell and the independents.

And sacrifice the peace o' th' nation  
 To doctrine, use, and application.  
 So when the Scots, your constant cronies,  
 Th' espousers of your cause and monies,<sup>7</sup> 1270  
 Who had so often, in your aid,  
 So many ways been soundly paid,  
 Came in at last for better ends,  
 To prove themselves your trusty friends,  
 You basely left them, and the church 1275  
 They train'd you up to, in the lurch,  
 And suffer'd your own tribe of christians  
 To fall before, as true Philistines.<sup>8</sup>  
 This shews what utensils y' have been,  
 To bring the king's concernments in ; 1280  
 Which is so far from being true,  
 That none but he can bring in you ;

<sup>7</sup> *So when the Scots, your constant cronies,*

*Th' espousers of your cause and monies,*] The Scots, in their first expedition, 1640, had 300,000*l.* given them for brotherly assistance, besides a contribution of 850*l.* a day from the northern counties. In their second expedition, 1643, besides much free quarter, they had 19,700*l.* monthly, and received 72,972*l.* in one year by customs on coals. The parliament agreed with them for 400,000*l.* on the surrender of the king.—Dugdale.

<sup>8</sup> *And suffer'd your own tribe of christians*

*To fall before, as true Philistines.*] The Scots made a third expedition into England, 1648, under duke Hamilton, which was supposed to be intended for the rescue of the king. They entered a fourth time under Charles II. when the presbyterians were expected to join them. Yet the latter assisted Cromwell: even their preachers marched with him; thus suffering presbyterian brethren, a portion of the true church, or true Israelites, to fall before the independent army, whom they reckoned no better than Philistines.

And if he take you into trust,  
 Will find you most exactly just,  
 Such as will punctually repay 1285  
 With double int'rest, and betray.

Not that I think those pantomimes,  
 Who vary action with the times,  
 Are less ingenious in their art,  
 Than those who dully act one part ; 1290  
 Or those who turn from side to side,  
 More guilty than the wind and tide.  
 All countries are a wise man's home,<sup>9</sup>  
 And so are governments to some.  
 Who change them for the same intrigues 1295  
 That statesmen use in breaking leagues ;  
 While others in old faiths and troths  
 Look odd, as out-of-fashion'd clothes,  
 And nastier in an old opinion,  
 Than those who never shift their linen. 1300  
 For true and faithful's sure to lose,  
 Which way soever the game goes ;  
 And whether parties lose or win,  
 Is always nick'd, or else hedg'd in :  
 While pow'r usurp'd, like stol'n delight, 1305  
 Is more bewitching than the right :  
 And when the times begin to alter,  
 None rise so high as from the halter.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *All countries are a wise man's home,]*

Omne solum forti patria est. Ovid.

Ibi esse judicabo Romam, ubicunque liberum esse licebit, says Brutus in a letter to Cicero.

<sup>1</sup> *None rise so high as from the halter.]* In a conference between

And so we may, if we've but sense  
 To use the necessary means, 1310  
 And not your usual stratagems  
 On one another, lights, and dreams :  
 To stand on terms as positive,  
 As if we did not take, but give :  
 Set up the covenant on crutches, 1315  
 'Gainst those who have us in their clutches,  
 And dream of pulling churches down,  
 Before we're sure to prop our own :  
 Your constant method of proceeding,  
 Without the carnal means of heeding, 1320  
 Who, 'twixt your inward sense and outward,  
 Are worse, than if ye 'ad none accoutred.  
 I grant all courses are in vain,  
 Unless we can get in again :<sup>a</sup>  
 The only way that's left us now, 1325  
 But all the difficulty's, how ?  
 'Tis true we 've money, th' only power  
 That all mankind falls down before ;

Mr. le President de Bellievre and cardinal de Retz, I will tell you, said the former, what I learned from Cromwell : Il me disoit un jour, que l'on ne montoit jamais si haut, que quand on ne sait où l'on va. Vous savez, dis-je à Bellievre, que j'ai horreur pour Cromwell ; mais, quelque grande homme qu'on nous le prône, j'ajoute le mepris ; s'il est de ce sentiment, il est d'un fou. De Retz adds, that this conversation came to Cromwell's ears ; and that he had like to have paid dearly in the sequel for the indiscretion of his tongue. Mem. de Retz, vol. ii. lib. iii. p. 385.

<sup>a</sup> *I grant all courses are in vain,*

*Unless we can get in again ;*] When general Monk restored the excluded members, the rumpers, perceiving they could not carry things their own way, and rule as they had done, quitted the house.



Money, that, like the swords of kings,  
 Is the last reason of all things;<sup>3</sup> 1330  
 And therefore need not doubt our play  
 Has all advantages that way;  
 As long as men have faith to sell,  
 And meet with those that can pay well;  
 Whose half-starv'd pride and avarice, 1335  
 One church and state will not suffice  
 T' expose to sale;<sup>4</sup> besides the wages<sup>5</sup>  
 Of storing plagues to after ages.  
 Nor is our money less our own,  
 Than 'twas before we laid it down; 1340  
 For 'twill return, and turn t' account,  
 If we are brought in play upon't,

<sup>3</sup> *Money, that, like the swords of kings,*

*Is the last reason of all things;*] Diodorus Siculus relates, that when the height of the walls of Amphipolis was pointed out to Philip, as rendering the town impregnable; he observed, they were not so high but money could be thrown over them. And Cicero, in his second oration against Verres, *Nihil est tam sanctum quod non violari, nihil tam munitum quod non expugnari, pecuniâ possit.* The motto upon the cannon of the king of France was, *Ratio ultima regum.*

<sup>4</sup> *One church and state will not suffice*

*T' expose to sale*—] There is a list of above a hundred of the principal actors in this rebellion, among whom the plunder of the church, crown, and kingdom was divided; to some five, ten, or twenty thousand pounds; to others, lands and offices of many hundreds or thousands a year. At the end of the list, the author says, it was computed that they had shared among themselves near twenty millions.

<sup>5</sup> — *besides the wages*] They allowed, by their own order, four pounds a week to each member; each member of the assembly of divines was allowed four shillings a day. Are the members of the National Assembly in France better paid? (1793) [Whether they were better paid or not they certainly succeeded in *storing plagues to after ages*, as well as partaking largely of them themselves. Liberty and

Or but by casting knaves, get in,  
 What pow'r can hinder us to win ?  
 We know the arts we us'd before, 1345  
 In peace and war, and something more.  
 And by th' unfortunate events,  
 Can mend our next experiments :  
 For when we 're taken into trust,  
 How easy are the wisest chous'd, 1350  
 Who see but th' outsides of our feats,  
 And not their secret springs and weights ;  
 And while they 're busy, at their ease,  
 Can carry what designs we please ?  
 How easy is 't to serve for agents, 1355  
 To prosecute our old engagements ?  
 To keep the good old cause on foot,  
 And present pow'r from taking root ;<sup>\*</sup>  
 In flame them both with false alarms  
 Of plots, and parties taking arms ; 1360  
 To keep the nations wounds too wide  
 From healing up of side to side ;  
 Profess the passionat'st concerns  
 For both their interests by turns,

philanthropy in their mouths,—tyranny and blood in their deeds,—  
 they at last naturally succumbed to a military despot, who in his  
 turn fell under the avenging swords of injured Europe. A Restora-  
 tion follows, and now a new Revolution, being the First of the  
 Second Series.—*Comment va le monde ? Tout à la ronde.*]

<sup>\*</sup> *And present pow'r for taking root ;*] General Monk and his  
 party, or the committee of safety : for we must understand the scene  
 to be laid at the time when Monk bore the sway, or, as will appear  
 by and by, at the roasting of the rumps, when Monk and the city of  
 London united against the rump parliament.

The only way t' improve our own, 1365  
 By dealing faithfully with none ;  
 As bowls run true, by being made  
 On purpose false, and to be sway'd,  
 For if we should be true to either,  
 'Twould turn us out of both together ; 1370  
 And therefore have no other means  
 To stand upon our own defence,  
 But keeping up our ancient party  
 In vigour, confident and hearty :  
 To reconcile our late dissenters, 1375  
 Our brethren, though by other venters ;  
 Unite them, and their different maggots,  
 As long and short sticks are in faggots,<sup>7</sup>  
 And make them join again as close,  
 As when they first began t' espouse ; 1380  
 Erect them into separate  
 New Jewish tribes in church and state ;<sup>8</sup>  
 To join in marriage and commerce,<sup>9</sup>  
 And only 'mong themselves converse,

<sup>7</sup> *Unite them, and their different maggots, As long and short sticks are in faggots,*] *Vis unita fortior.* See Æsop's Fables, 171. ed. Oxon. and Plutarch de Garrulitate, ii. p. 511. Swift told this fable after the ancients, with exquisite humour, to reconcile queen Ann's ministers.

<sup>8</sup> *Erect them into separate New Jewish tribes in church and state ;*] Make them distinct in their opinions and interests, like the Jews, who were not allowed to intermarry or converse with the nations around them.

<sup>9</sup> *To join in marriage and commerce,*] The accent is here laid upon the last syllable of commerce, as in Waller, p. 59. small edition by Fenton :

Or what commerce can men with monsters find.

And all that are not of their mind, 1385  
 Make enemies to all mankind :<sup>1</sup>  
 Take all religions in, and stickle  
 From conclave down to conventicle ;<sup>2</sup>  
 Agreeing still or disagreeing,  
 According to the light in being, 1390  
 Sometimes for liberty of conscience,  
 And spiritual misrule in one sense ;  
 But in another quite contrary,  
 As dispensations chance to vary ;  
 And stand for, as the times will bear it, 1395  
 All contradictions of the spirit :  
 Protect their emissaries,<sup>3</sup> empower'd  
 To preach sedition, and the word ;  
 And when they're hamper'd by the laws,  
 Release the lab'ers for the cause, 1400  
 And turn the persecution back  
 On those that made the first attack,  
 To keep them equally in awe  
 From breaking, or maintaining law :  
 And when they have their fits too soon, 1405  
 Before the full-tides of the moon,

<sup>1</sup> *And only 'mong themselves converse,*

*And all that are not of their mind,*

*Make enemies to all mankind :*] The odium humani generis of Tacitus, and the non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti of the same author, are here alluded to.

<sup>2</sup> *From conclave down to conventicle ;*] That is, papists as well as non-conformists.

<sup>3</sup> Read, Protect their *emissaires*, as the French in three syllables, otherwise there is a syllable too much in the verse.

Put off their zeal t' a fitter season,  
 For sowing faction in and treason ;  
 And keep them hooded, and their churches,  
 Like hawks, from baiting on their perches ;<sup>4</sup>  
 That when the blessed time shall come  
 Of quitting Babylon and Rome,  
 They may be ready to restore  
 Their own fifth monarchy once more.<sup>5</sup>  
 Mean-while be better arm'd to fence 1415  
 Against revolts of providence,<sup>6</sup>  
 By watching narrowly, and snapping  
 All blind sides of it, as they happen :  
 For if success could make us saints,  
 Our ruin turn'd us miscreants ;<sup>7</sup> 1420  
 A scandal that would fall too hard  
 Upon a few, and unprepar'd.  
 These are the courses we must run,  
 Spite of our hearts, or be undone,

<sup>4</sup> *Like hawks, from baiting on their perches ;*] From being too forward, or ready to take flight.

<sup>5</sup> *They may be ready to restore*

*Their own fifth monarchy once more.*] In addition to the four great monarchies which have appeared in the world, some of the enthusiasts thought that Christ was to reign temporally upon earth, and to establish a fifth monarchy.

<sup>6</sup> *Against revolts of providence,*] The sectaries of those days talked more familiarly to Almighty God, than they dared to do to a superior officer : they remonstrated with him, made him the author of all their wicked machinations, and, if their projects failed, they said that providence had revolted from them.

<sup>7</sup> *Our ruin turn'd us miscreants ;*] Suppose we read, Turns us miscreants.

And not to stand on terms and freaks, 1425  
Before we have secur'd our necks.  
But do our work as out of sight,  
As stars by day, and suns by night ;  
All licence of the people own,  
In opposition to the crown ; 1430  
And for the crown as fiercely side,  
The head and body to divide.  
The end of all we first design'd,  
And all that yet remains behind,  
Be sure to spare no public rapine, 1435  
On all emergencies that happen ;  
For 'tis as easy to supplant  
Authority, as men in want ;  
As some of us, in trusts, have made  
The one hand with the other trade ; 1440  
Gain'd vastly by their joint endeavour,  
The right a thief, the left receiver ;  
And what the one, by tricks, forestall'd,  
The other, by as sly, retail'd.  
For gain has wonderful effects 1445  
T' improve the factory of sects ;  
The rule of faith in all professions,  
And great Diana of th' Ephesians ;  
Whence turning of religion's made  
The means to turn and wind a trade. 1450  
And though some change it for the worse,  
They put themselves into a course,  
And draw in store of customers,  
To thrive the better in commerce :

For all religions flock together, 1455  
 Like tame and wild fowl of a feather :  
 To nab the itches of their sects,  
 As jades do one another's necks.  
 Hence 'tis hypocrisy as well  
 Will serve t' improve a church, as zeal ; 1460  
 As persecution or promotion,  
 Do equally advance devotion.  
 Let bus'ness, like ill watches, go  
 Sometime too fast, sometime too slow ;  
 For things in order are put out 1465  
 So easy, ease itself will do 't :  
 But when the feat's design'd and meant,  
 What miracle can bar th' event ?  
 For 'tis more easy to betray,  
 Than ruin any other way. 1470  
 All possible occasions start,  
 The weightiest matters to divert ;  
 Obstruct, perplex, distract, entangle,  
 And lay perpetual trains, to wrangle.\*

\* *Obstruct, perplex, distract, entangle,  
 And lay perpetual trains, to wrangle.*] Exactly the advice given  
 in Aristophanes to the sausage-maker turned politician, *Equites*,  
 v. 214. Many political characters, in the time of Oliver, seem to  
 have followed it. Si quid inter comitia disceptandum, quæsitis  
 diverticulis, aut injectis inter æstus disputandi scrupulis, ut rei de-  
 terminatio in aliud tempus destineretur procurabant. De regiis  
 concessionibus usque ad diem posterum acriter disputatum est ;  
 dum interea scrupulos nectunt, disseminant rixas, scindunt in di-  
 versum partes, longisque oratiunculis tempus terunt oligarchichi et  
 democratici.

But in affairs of less import, 1475  
 That neither do us good nor hurt,  
 And they receive as little by,  
 Out-fawn as much, and out-comply,  
 And seem as scrupulously just,  
 To bait our hooks for greater trust. 1480  
 But still be careful to cry down  
 All public actions, tho' our own ;  
 The least miscarriage aggravate,  
 And charge it all upon the state :  
 Express the horrid'st detestation, 1485  
 And pity the distracted nation ;  
 Tell stories scandalous and false,  
 I th' proper language of cabals,<sup>o</sup>  
 Where all a subtle statesman says,  
 Is half in words, and half in face ; 1490  
 As Spaniards talk in dialogues  
 Of heads and shoulders, nods and shrugs :  
 Entrust it under solemn vows  
 Of mum, and silence, and the rose,<sup>1</sup>  
 To be retail'd again in whispers, 1495  
 For th' easy credulous to disperse.

<sup>o</sup> Mr. Butler has seldom been so inattentive to rhyme, as in this and the following couplet.

<sup>1</sup> *Entrust it under solemn vows*

*Of mum, and silence, and the rose,]* When any thing was said in confidence, the speaker in conclusion generally used the word mum, or silence. The rose was considered by the ancients as an emblem of silence, from its being dedicated by Cupid to Harpocrates the god of silence, to engage him to conceal the actions of his mother Venus. Whence, in rooms designed for convivial meetings, it was



Thus far the statesman—When a shout,  
 Heard at a distance, put him out ;  
 And strait another, all aghast,  
 Rush'd in with equal fear and haste, 1500  
 Who star'd about, as pale as death,  
 And, for a while, as out of breath,  
 Till, having gathered up his wits,  
 He thus began his tale by fits :<sup>2</sup>

That beastly rabble—that came down 1505  
 From all the garrets—in the town,  
 And stalls, and shop-boards—in vast swarms,  
 With new-chalk'd bills—and rusty arms,  
 To cry the cause—up, heretofore,  
 And bawl the bishops—out of door ; 1510  
 Are now drawn up—in greater shoals,  
 To roast—and broil us on the coals,  
 And all the grandees—of our members  
 Are carbonading—on the embers ;

customary to place a rose above the table, to signify that any thing there spoken ought never to be divulged. The epigram says :

Est rosa flos Veneris, cujus quo facta laterent,  
 Harpocrati, matris dona, dicavit amor.  
 Inde rosam mensis hospes suspendit amicis,  
 Conviva ut sub eâ dicta tacenda sciat.

A rose was frequently figured on the ceiling of rooms, both in England and Germany.

<sup>2</sup> *He thus began his tale by fits :*] By this speaker is represented sir Martin Noel, who, while the cabal was sitting, brought news that the rump parliament was dismissed, the secluded members brought into the house, and that the mob of London approved of the measure. Mr. Butler tells this tale for sir Martin with wonderful humour.

Knights, citizens, and burgesses— 1515  
 Held forth by rumps—of pigs and geese,  
 That serve for characters—and badges  
 To represent their personages.  
 Each bonfire is a funeral pile,  
 In which they roast, and scorch, and broil,  
 And ev'ry representative  
 Have vow'd to roast—and broil alive :  
 And 'tis a miracle we are not  
 Already sacrific'd incarnate ;  
 For while we wrangle here, and jar, 1525  
 W' are grilly'd all at Temple-bar ;  
 Some, on the sign-post of an ale-house,  
 Hang in effigy, on the gallows,<sup>2</sup>  
 Made up of rags to personate  
 Respective officers of state ; 1530  
 That, henceforth, they may stand reputed,  
 Proscrib'd in law, and executed,  
 And, while the work is carrying on,  
 Be ready listed under Dun,  
 That worthy patriot, once the bellows, 1535  
 And tinder-box of all his fellows ;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Some, on the sign-post of an ale-house,  
 Hang in effigy, on the gallows,]* For, or instead of, a gallows,  
 would, perhaps, be a more correct reading : it is better to hang the  
 effigy on the sign-post, than the original on the lamp-iron.

<sup>4</sup> *Be ready listed under Dun,  
 That worthy patriot, once the bellows,  
 And tinder-box of all his fellows ;]* Dun was common hangman at  
 that time, and succeeding executioners went by his name, till eclipsed  
 by squire Ketch. But the character here delineated was certainly in-

The activ'st member of the five,  
As well as the most primitive ;

tended for sir Arthur Hazlerig, knight of the shire, in the long parliament, for the county of Leicester, and one of the five members of the house of commons impeached by the king in the beginning of that parliament. He brought in the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford, and the bill against episcopacy ; though the latter was delivered by sir Edward Deering at his procurement. He also brought in the bill for the militia. Lord Clarendon says, he was used like the dove out of the ark, to try what footing the party could have for their designs. He was a hot-headed republican, and made great disturbances afterwards in the parliament of Oliver and Richard. He was always one of the rump ; and a little before this time, when the committee of safety had been set up, and the rump excluded, he had seized Portsmouth for their use. It is probable that he might call sir Arthur by the hangman's name, either for some barbarous execution which he had caused to be done in a military way, or for his forwardness and zeal in parliament in bringing the royalists to execution, and the king himself : for I find three addresses, which we may well suppose were promoted by him ; one from the garrisons of Newcastle and Tinnmouth, where Hazlerig was governor ; another from the mayor and aldermen of Newcastle ; and a third from the county of Leicester, which Hazlerig represented ; all of them for the trial of the king. Dun, however, is sometimes put for don or knight, as at line 110 of the next canto. Before Monk's intentions were known, Hazlerig, in a conversation with him, said, " I see which way things are going ; monarchy will be restored ; and then I know what will become of me." " Pugh," replied Monk, " I will secure you for two-pence." In no long time after, when the secret was out, Hazlerig sent Monk a letter, with two-pence inclosed. This incident is mentioned in the third volume of lord Clarendon's State Papers, printed at Oxford. Sir Arthur enlisted many soldiers, and had a regiment called his Lobsters.

Without pretending that Butler had any view in this to the ancients, it reminds me of the magnificent titles given to successful generals. Fabius, I think, was called the shield, Marcellus the sword of Rome, and Scipio the thunderbolt of war. Swift excelled in this species of humour :

Would you describe Turenne or Trump,  
Think of a bucket, or a pump.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND  
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



R Cooper sculp.

JOSEPH HODGKIN, SOLICITOR GENERAL

*Which is rare & true*

PUBLISHED BY CHARLES & HENRY BALDWIN NEWCASTLE STREET

Who, for his faithful service then,  
 Is chosen for a fifth agen : 1540  
 For since the state has made a quint  
 Of generals, he's listed in 't.<sup>5</sup>  
 This worthy, as the world will say,  
 Is paid in specie, his own way ;  
 For, moulded to the life, in clouts, 1545  
 They've pick'd from dunghills hereabouts,  
 He's mounted on a hazel bavin<sup>6</sup>  
 A cropp'd malignant baker gave 'em ;<sup>7</sup>  
 And to the largest bonfire riding,  
 They've roasted Cook already, and Pride in ;<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *For since the state has made a quint*

*Of generals, he's listed in 't.*] Quint, that is, a quorum of five. After the death of Cromwell, and the deposition of Richard, when the rump parliament was restored, lest any commander in chief should again usurp the sovereignty, they resolved that their speaker should hold the offices both of general and admiral, which for a time he did. The government of the army was then put into the hands of seven commissioners, of whom Hazlerig was one. And again, February 11, 1659, Monk, Hazlerig, Walton, Morley, and Alured, were appointed commissioners to govern the army. Whitelock's words are, " that Hazlerig did drive on furiously."

<sup>6</sup> *He's mounted on a hazel bavin*] An hazel faggot, such as bakers heat their ovens with.

<sup>7</sup> *A cropp'd malignant baker gave 'em ;*] Pillory, and cropping the ears, was a punishment inflicted on bakers who made short weight, or bad bread. The sectaries called all those malignants who were not of their party.

<sup>8</sup> *They've roasted Cook already, and Pride in ;*] Cook was solicitor at the king's trial : he drew up a charge against him ; and was ready with a formal plea, in case the king had submitted to the jurisdiction of the court. The plea was printed, and answered by Butler, in his Remains, (not the genuine ones, vol. i. p. 116.) Lord Clarendon allows him to have been a man of abilities. His defence at

On whom, in equipage and state,  
 His scare-crow fellow-members wait,  
 And march in order, two and two,  
 As at thanksgivings th' us'd to do ;  
 Each in a tatter'd talisman, 1555  
 Like vermin in effigy slain.

But, what's more dreadful than the rest,  
 Those rumps are but the tail o' th' beast,  
 Set up by popish engineers,  
 As by the crackers plainly appears ; 1560  
 For none, but jesuits, have a mission  
 To preach the faith with ammunition,  
 And propagate the church with powder ;  
 Their founder was a blown-up soldier.\*  
 Those spiritual pioneers o' th' whore's, 1565  
 That have the charge of all her stores ;  
 Since first they fail'd in their designs,<sup>1</sup>  
 To take in heav'n by springing mines,

his trial was bold and manly, though not discreet or judicious. Pride has been spoken of before. It was he who garbled the house of commons, causing 41 members to be seized and confined, and denying entrance to 160 more ; several others being terrified declined sitting, and left the house to about 150, who passed the vote for the trial of the king. This expulsion was called colonel Pride's Purge, and was the beginning of the rump parliament.

\* *Their founder was a blown-up soldier.*] Ignatius Loyola, founder of the society of jesuits, was a Spanish gentleman, and bred a soldier : wounded at the siege of Pampeluna by the French in 1521.

<sup>1</sup> *Since first they fail'd in their designs,  
 To take in heav'n by springing mines,  
 And, with unanswerable barrels*

*Of gunpowder, dispute their quarrels,*] Alluding to the gunpowder-plot, in the reign of James I. supposed to have been conducted by the jesuits, and for which Garnet and Oldcorn suffered.



ROBERTSON'S HISTORY

*from a Picture by J. Stuart*

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And, with unanswerable barrels  
 Of gunpowder, dispute their quarrels, 1570  
 Now take a course more practicable,  
 By laying trains to fire the rabble,  
 And blow us up, in th' open streets,  
 Disguis'd in rumps, like sambenites,<sup>a</sup>  
 More like to ruin and confound, 1575  
 Than all their doctrines underground.  
 Nor have they chosen rumps amiss,<sup>a</sup>  
 For symbols of state-mysteries ;  
 Tho' some suppose, 'twas but to shew  
 How much they scorn'd the saints, the few,  
 Who, 'cause they 're wasted to the stumps,  
 Are represented best by rumps.<sup>d</sup>  
 But jesuits have deeper reaches  
 In all their politic far-fetches ;  
 And from the Coptic priest, Kircherus, 1585  
 Found out this mystic way to jeer us :<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Disguis'd in rumps, like sambenites,*] Persons wearing the sambenito : a straight yellow coat without sleeves, having the picture of the devil painted upon it in black, wherein the officers of the inquisition disguise and expose heretics after their condemnation.

<sup>b</sup> *Nor have they chosen rumps amiss,*] The several pleasant arguments which follow, may be seen in a prose tract of the author's, called a speech made at the Rota. Remains, vol. i. page 320.

<sup>c</sup> *Who, 'cause they 're wasted to the stumps,  
Are represented best by rumps.*] Lord Clarendon says, they were called the rump parliament, as being the fag end of a carcass long since expired : they were reduced to less than a tenth part of their original number.

<sup>d</sup> *And from the Coptic priest, Kircherus,  
Found out this mystic way to jeer us:*] The christians in Egypt are called Coptics, from a city in or near which many of them dwelt: [Dr. Nash settles the question of *Coptic* very easily ; but if the reader

For, as the Egyptians us'd by bees  
 T' express their ancient Ptolemies,<sup>6</sup>  
 And by their stings, the swords they wore,  
 Held forth authority and pow'r ; 1590  
 Because these subtle animals  
 Bear all their int'rests in their tails ;  
 And when they're once impair'd in that,  
 Are banish'd their well-order'd state :  
 They thought all governments were best 1595  
 By hieroglyphic rumps exprest.  
 For, as in bodies natural,  
 The rump's the fundament of all ;  
 So, in a commonwealth or realm,  
 The government is called the helm ; 1600  
 With which, like vessels under sail,  
 They're turn'd and winded by the tail.

has any wish to puzzle his brains in a research upon this point, he has only to turn to any work where ancient Egypt is treated of, and he will immediately get into an etymological chase with Cupti, Giptu, Gibbetu, Ægopthus and King Copte, that will assure him good sport and carry him far beyond the Doctor's city ; as may be seen from a glance at Todd's definition,—“ *Coptick* from *Coptus*, “ converted, by changing K into G, into the Gr. *Αἰγυπτος*.”] Athanasius Kircher, the jesuit, wrote many books on the antiquities of Egypt, one of them is called *Œdipus Egyptiacus* ; for which he says he studied the Egyptian mysteries twenty years.

<sup>6</sup> *For, as the Egyptians us'd by bees*

*To express their ancient Ptolemies,]* As the Egyptians anciently represented their kings under the emblem of a bee, which has the power of dispensing benefits and inflicting punishments by its honey and its sting, though the poet attends principally to the energy which it bears in its tail ; so the citizens of London significantly represented this fag-end of a parliament by the rumps, or tail-parts, of sheep and other animals : some editions read *antique* Ptolemies.

The tail, which birds and fishes steer,  
 Their courses with, thro' sea and air ;  
 To whom the rudder of the rump is 1605  
 The same thing with the stern and compass,  
 This shews, how perfectly the rump  
 And commonwealth in nature jump.  
 For as a fly that goes to bed,  
 Rests with his tail above his head,' 1610  
 So, in this mongrel state of ours,  
 The rabble are the supreme powers,  
 That hors'd us on their backs, to show us  
 A jadish trick at last, and throw us.  
 The learned rabbins of the jews 1615  
 Write, there's a bone, which they call luez,<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *For as a fly that goes to bed,*

*Rests with his tail above his head,]* Several sorts of flies, having their fore legs shorter than their hind legs, are generally seen at rest with their heads downward.

<sup>b</sup> *The learned rabbins of the Jews*

*Write, there's a bone, which they call luez,]* Eben Ezra, and Manasseh Ben Israel, taught, that there is a bone in the rump of a man of the size and shape of half a pea ; from which, as from an incorruptible seed, the whole man would be perfectly formed at the resurrection. Remains, vol. i. p. 320. The rabbins found their wild conjectures on Genesis, c. xlviii. v. 2 and 3, where Luz seems to mean the name of a place, not of a bone. " And Jacob said unto " Joseph, God Almighty appeared unto me at Luz, in the land of " Canaan, and blessed me, and said, Behold I will make thee fruit- " ful, and multiply thee, and I will make thee a multitude of people, " and will give this land to thy seed after thee for an everlasting " possession." See more, Agrippa de occultâ philosophiâ, l. i. c. 20. Buxtorf, in his Chaldean Dictionary, under the word Luz, says, it is the name of a human bone, which the Jews look upon as incorruptible. In a book called Breshith Rabboth, sect. 28, it is said, that Adrian reducing the bones to powder, asked the rabbin Jehoshuang (Jesuah, the son of Hanniah) how God would raise man at the day

I th' rump of man, of such a virtue,  
 No force in nature can do hurt to ;  
 And therefore, at the last great day,  
 All th' other members shall, they say, 1620  
 Spring out of this, as from a seed  
 All sorts of vegetals proceed ;  
 From whence the learned sons of art,  
 Os sacrum justly style that part :<sup>a</sup>  
 Then what can better represent, 1625  
 Than this rump-bone, the parliament ?  
 That after sev'ral rude ejections,  
 And as prodigious resurrections,  
 With new reversions of nine lives,  
 Starts up, and, like a cat, revives ?<sup>1</sup> 1630

of judgment : from the Luz replied the rabbin : how do you know it ? says Adrian : bring me one, and you shall see, says Jehoshuang ; one was produced, and all methods, by fire, pounding, &c. tried, but in vain. (French note.) In the General Dictionary, art. Barchochébas (or, the son of the star) we read, that the Jewish authors suppose that Hadrian was in person in the war against the Jews, and that he besieged and took the city of Bitter, and that he then had this conference with the rabbi. See Manasse Ben-Israel de Resurrectione, lib. ii. cap. 15.

<sup>a</sup> *From whence the learned sons of art,*

*Os sacrum justly style that part :]* The lowest of the vertebræ, or rather the bone below the vertebræ, is so called ; not for the reason wittily assigned by our poet, but, as Bartholine says, because it is much bigger than any of the vertebræ,—vel quod partibus obscœnis, naturâ ipsâ occultatis, subjacet ; sacrum enim execrabile ; as in Virgil : *Auri sacra fames*——

<sup>1</sup> *Then what can better represent,*

*Than this rump-bone, the parliament ?*

*That after sev'ral rude ejections,*

*And as prodigious resurrections,*

*With new reversions of nine lives,*

*Starts up, and, like a cat, revives ?]* The rump, properly so called,

But now, alas ! they're all expir'd,  
And th' house, as well as members, fir'd ;  
Consum'd in kennels by the rout,  
With which they other fires put out ;  
Condemn'd t' ungoverning distress ;       1635  
And paltry private wretchedness ;  
Worse than the devil to privation,  
Beyond all hopes of restoration ;

began at colonel Pride's Purge above-mentioned, a little before the king's death ; and had the supreme authority about five years. Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, &c. turned out the rump, April 23, 1653, and soon afterward Cromwell usurped the administration, and held it almost five years more. After Cromwell's death, and the deposition of his son Richard, the rump parliament was restored by Lambert and other officers of the army, the excluded members not being permitted to sit. They began their meeting May 7, 1659, in number about forty-two. On some animosities and quarrels between them and the army, they were prevented again from sitting, by Lambert and the officers, October 13, in the same year. After this, the officers chose a committee of safety of twenty-three persons. These administered the affairs of government till December 20, when, finding themselves generally hated and slighted, and wanting money to pay the soldiers, Fleetwood, and the rest of them, desired the rump to return to the exercise of their trust. At length, by means of general Monk, above eighty of the old secluded members resumed their places in the house ; upon which most of the rumpers quitted it. Mr. Butler, in his *Genuine Remains*, vol. i. p. 320, says, " no-  
" thing can bear a nearer resemblance to the luz, or rump bone of  
" the ancient rabbins, than the present parliament, that has been so  
" many years dead, and rotten under ground, to any man's thinking,  
" that the ghosts of some of the members thereof have transmigrated  
" into other parliaments, and some into those parts from whence  
" there is no redemption, should nevertheless, at two several and  
" respective resurrections start up, like the dragon's teeth that were  
" sown, into living, natural, and carnal members. And, hence it is,  
" I suppose, that the physicians and anatomists call this bone os  
" sacrum, or the hol' bone."

And parted, like the body and soul,  
 From all dominion and controul.<sup>2</sup> 1640  
 We who could lately, with a look,  
 Enact, establish, or revoke,  
 Whose arbitrary nods gave law,  
 And frowns kept multitudes in awe ;  
 Before the bluster of whose huff, 1645  
 All hats, as in a storm, flew off ;  
 Ador'd and bow'd to by the great,  
 Down to the footman and valet ;  
 Had more bent knees than chapel mats,  
 And prayers than the crowns of hats, 1650  
 Shall now be scorn'd as wretchedly :  
 For ruin's just as low as high ;  
 Which might be suffer'd, were it all  
 The horror that attends our fall :  
 For some of us have scores more large 1655  
 Than heads and quarters can discharge ;  
 And others, who, by restless scraping,  
 With public frauds, and private rapine,

<sup>2</sup> *Condemn'd t' ungoverning distress ;  
 And paltry private wretchedness ;  
 Worse than the devil to privation,  
 Beyond all hopes of restoration ;  
 And parted, like the body and soul,  
 From all dominion and controul.]*

These lines paint well the hunger and thirst after power in ambitious minds. Aristotle's *Politic.* lib. 3. relates the complaint of Jason, that when he had not empire, he was famished, for he knew not how to live as a private man. Commentators think Tiberius alluded to this saying in his rebuke to Agrippina, recorded by Tacitus, *An.* iv. 52, and Suetonius in Tiberio, cap. 53. "What, child, because you do not govern us  
 "all, do you think yourself wronged?"

Have mighty heaps of wealth amass'd,  
Would gladly lay down all at last ; 1660  
And, to be but undone, entail  
Their vessels on perpetual jail,  
And bless the devil to let them farms  
Of forfeit souls, on no worse terms.  
This said, a near and louder shout 1665  
Put all th' assembly to the rout,  
Who now began t' out-run their fear,  
As horses do, from those they bear ;  
But crowded on with so much haste,  
Until they 'd block'd the passage fast, 1670  
And barricado'd it with haunches  
Of outward men, and bulks and paunches,  
That with their shoulders strove to squeeze,  
And rather save a crippled piece  
Of all their crush'd and broken members, 1675  
Than have them grilly'd on the embers ;  
Still pressing on with heavy packs  
Of one another on their backs,  
The van guard could no longer bear  
The charges of the forlorn rear, 1680  
But, borne down headlong by the rout,  
Were trampled sorely under foot ;  
Yet nothing prov'd so formidable,  
As th' horrid cook'ry of the rabble :  
And fear, that keeps all feelings out, 1685  
As lesser pains are by the gout,  
Reliev'd 'em with a fresh supply  
Of rally'd force, enough to fly,



And beat a Tuscan running horse,  
Whose jockey-rider is all spurs.\* 1690

\* *And beat a Tuscan running horse,*

*Whose jockey-rider is all spurs.*] Races of this kind are practised both in the corso at Rome, and at Florence. At Rome, in the carnival, there are five or six horses trained on purpose for this diversion. They are drawn up a-breast in the Piazza del Popolo; and certain balls, with little sharp spikes, are hung along their rumps, which serve to spur them on as soon as they begin to run.

**PART III. CANTO III.**

### **THE ARGUMENT.**

**The Knight and Squire's prodigious flight  
To quit th' enchanted bow'r by night.  
He plods to turn his amorous suit,  
T' a plea in law, and prosecute:  
Repairs to counsel, to advise  
'Bout managing the enterprise;  
But first resolves to try by letter,  
And one more fair address, to get her.**

# H U D I B R A S.

## CANTO III.<sup>1</sup>

Who would believe what strange bugbears  
Mankind creates itself, of fears,  
That spring, like fern, that insect weed,  
Equivocally, without seed,<sup>2</sup>  
And have no possible foundation, 5  
But merely in th' imagination ?

<sup>1</sup> The Editor was much inclined to follow the plan of the French translator, and place this before the preceding canto; but he was afraid to alter the form which Butler himself had made choice of, especially as the poet had taken the pains to recapitulate and explain the foregoing adventure, and bring it back to the reader's memory.

<sup>2</sup> *That spring, like fern, that insect weed,*

*Equivocally, without seed,*] He calls it an insect weed, on the supposition of its being bred, as many insects were thought to be, not by the natural generation of their own kinds, but by the corruption of other substances, or the spontaneous fecundity of matter. This is called equivocal generation, in contradistinction to unequivocal, or that which is brought about by a natural succession and derivation, from an egg, a seed, or a root, of the same animal or vegetable. Plants of the cryptogamia class, ferns, mosses, flags, and fungusses, have their seeds and flowers so small as not to be discernible; so that the ancients held them to be without seed. Pliny, in his Natural History, says, *Filicis duo genera, nec florem habent, nec semen.* (lib. xxvii. c. 9.) Mr. Durham says, the capsulas are hardly a quarter so big as a grain of sand, and yet may contain an hundred seeds. [Our ancestors, believing that this plant produced seed that was invisible, concluded that those who possessed the secret of wearing it about them would become likewise invisible. See Henry IV. Part I.

*Gads.* — We steal as in a castle, cocksure; we have the receipt of fern-seed, we walk invisible.

*Chamb.* Nay, by my faith; I think, you are more beholden to the night —]

And yet can do more dreadful feats  
 Than hags, with all their imps and teats ;  
 Make more bewitch and haunt themselves,  
 Than all their nurseries of elves. 10  
 For fear does things so like a witch,  
 'Tis hard t' unriddle which is which ;  
 Sets up communities of senses,  
 To chop and change intelligences ;  
 As Rosicrucian virtuoso's 15  
 Can see with ears, and hear with noses ;\*

\* *As Rosicrucian virtuoso's*

*Can see with ears, and hear with noses ;* ] A banter on the marquis of Worcester's scantlings of inventions. Edmund Somerset, marquis of Worcester, published, in 1663, a century of the names and scantlings of such inventions, as, says he, " I can call to mind to " have tried and perfected." The book is a mere table of contents, a list only of an hundred projects, mostly impossibilities ; though he pretends to have discovered the art of performing all of them. How to make an unsinkable ship—how to sail against wind and tide—how to fly—how to use all the senses indifferently for each other, to talk by colours, and to read by the taste—how to converse by the jangling of bells out of tune, &c. &c. For an account of the marquis of Worcester, see Walpole's Catalogue of Noble Authors ; and Collins's Peerage, article Beaufort, where is that most extraordinary patent which Charles the first granted to the marquis. Panurge, in Rabelais, says : *que ses lunettes lui faisoient entendre beaucoup plus clair*. Shakspeare, in his *Midsummer Night's Dream*, says, " he is gone to see a noise that he heard." " This is an art to teach " men to see with their ears, and hear with their eyes and noses, as it " has been found true by experience and demonstration, if we may " believe the history of the Spaniard, that could see words, and swallow music by holding the peg of a fiddle between his teeth, or him " that could sing his part backward at first sight, which those that " were near him might hear with their noses." Butler's *Remains*, vol. ii. p. 245. Our poet probably means to ridicule sir Kenelm Digby, and some treatises wrote by Dr. Bulwer, author of the *Artificial Changeling*.

And when they neither see nor hear,  
Have more than both supply'd by fear,  
That makes them in the dark see visions,  
And hag themselves with apparitions, 20  
And when their eyes discover least,  
Discern the subtlest objects best ;  
Do things not contrary alone,  
To th' course of nature, but its own,<sup>4</sup>  
The courage of the bravest daunt, 25  
And turn poltroons as valiant :  
For men as resolute appear  
With too much, as too little fear ;  
And, when they're out of hopes of flying,  
Will run away from death, by dying ;<sup>6</sup> 30  
Or turn again to stand it out,  
And those they fled, like lions, rout.

This Hudibras had prov'd too true,  
Who, by the furies, left perdue,  
And haunted with detachments, sent 35  
From marshal Legion's regiment,<sup>6</sup>

\* *To th' course of nature, but its own,]* Suppose we read:  
— but *their* own.

*And, when they're out of hopes of flying,  
Will run away from death, by dying :]*

Hostem dum fugeret, se Fannius ipse peremit,  
Dic mihi quis furor est, ne moriari, mori.

• *And haunted with detachments, sent  
From marshal Legion's regiment,]* Dr. Grey supposes that Stephen Marshal, a famous preacher among the presbyterians, is here intended. But the word marshal, I am inclined to think, denotes a title of office and rank, not the name of any particular man. Legion may, in this place, be used for the name of a leader, or captain of a

Was by a fiend, as counterfeit,  
 Reliev'd and rescu'd with a cheat,  
 When nothing but himself, and fear,  
 Was both the imps and conjurer;<sup>7</sup> 40  
 As by the rules o' th' virtuosi,  
 It follows in due form of poesie.

Disguis'd in all the masks of night,  
 We left our champion on his flight,  
 And blindman's buff, to grope his way, 45  
 In equal fear of night and day;  
 Who took his dark and desp'rate course,  
 He knew no better than his horse;  
 And by an unknown devil led,<sup>8</sup>  
 He knew as little whither, fled, 50  
 He never was in greater need,  
 Nor less capacity of speed;

company of devils, not the company itself. The meaning is, that the knight was haunted by a crew of devils, such as that in the Gospel, which claimed the name of Legion, because they were many; though it might be a devilish mortification to attend the sermons of Dr. Burgess and Stephen Marshal, who are said to have preached before the house of commons for above seven hours without ceasing.

<sup>7</sup> *When nothing but himself, and fear,*

*Was both the imps and conjurer ;]* The poet, with great wit, rallies the imaginary and groundless fears which possess some persons: and from whence proceed the tales of ghosts and apparitions, imps, conjurers, and witches. Tully says, *nolite enim putare—eos qui aliquid impie scelerateque commiserint, agitari et perterrerī furiarum tædis ardentibus: sua quemque fraus, et suus terror maxime vexat: suum quemque scelus agitat, amentiaque afficit: suæ malæ cogitationes conscientiaque animi terrent. Hæ sunt impiis assiduæ domesticæque furia.* Pro S. Roscio, cap. xxiv. The same thought may be found in the Athenian orator, Æschines.

<sup>8</sup> *And by an unknown devil led,]* It was Ralpho who conveyed the knight out of the widow's house, though unknown.

Disabled, both in man and beast,  
 To fly and run away, his best ;<sup>9</sup>  
 To keep the enemy, and fear, 55  
 From equal falling on his rear.  
 And though, with kicks and bangs he ply'd,  
 The further and the nearer side ;  
 As seamen ride with all their force,  
 And tug as if they row'd the horse, 60  
 And when the hackney sails most swift,  
 Believe they lag, or run a-drift ;  
 So, tho' he posted e'er so fast,  
 His fear was greater than his haste :  
 For fear, though fleetier than the wind, 65  
 Believes 'tis always left behind.  
 But when the morn began t' appear,  
 And shift t' another scene his fear,  
 He found his new officious shade,  
 That came so timely to his aid, 70  
 And forc'd him from the foe t' escape,  
 Had turn'd itself to Ralpho's shape,  
 So like in person, garb, and pitch,  
 'Twas hard t' interpret which was which.  
 For Ralpho had no sooner told 75  
 The lady all he had t' unfold,  
 But she convey'd him out of sight,  
 To entertain th' approaching Knight ;

<sup>9</sup> *To fly and run away, his best ;*] That is, to do his best at flying and running away, in order to keep the enemy, and fear, from falling equally on his rear.



And while he gave himself diversion,  
 T' accommodate his beast and person, 80  
 And put his beard into a posture  
 At best advantage to accost her,  
 She order'd th'anti-masquerade,  
 For his reception, aforesaid :  
 But, when the ceremony was done, 85  
 The lights put out, the furies gone,  
 And Hudibras, among the rest,  
 Convey'd away, as Ralpho guess'd,<sup>1</sup>  
 The wretched caitiff, all alone,  
 As he believ'd, began to moan, 90  
 And tell his story to himself,  
 The Knight mistook him for an elf ;  
 And did so still, till he began  
 To scruple at Ralph's outward man,  
 And thought, because they oft' agreed 95  
 T' appear in one another's stead,  
 And act the saint's and devil's part,  
 With undistinguishable art,  
 They might have done so now, perhaps,  
 And put on one another's shapes ; 100  
 And therefore, to resolve the doubt,  
 He star'd upon him, and cry'd out,

<sup>1</sup> *And Hudibras, among the rest,*

*Convey'd away, as Ralpho guess'd,]* It is here said that Ralpho guessed his master was conveyed away, and that he believed himself to be all alone when he made his lamentation : but this seems to be a slip of memory in the poet, for some parts of his lamentations are not at all applicable to his own case, but plainly designed for his master's hearing : such are v. 1371, &c. of Part iii. canto the first.

What art ? my Squire, or that bold sprite  
 That took his place and shape to night ?<sup>2</sup>  
 Some busy independent pug, 105  
 Retainer to his synagogue ?  
 Alas ! quoth he, I'm none of those  
 Your bosom friends, as you suppose,  
 But Ralph himself, your trusty Squire,  
 Who 'as dragg'd your donship out o' the mire,<sup>3</sup>  
 And from th' enchantments of a widow,  
 Who 'ad turn'd you int' a beast, have freed you ;  
 And, tho' a prisoner of war,  
 Have brought you safe, where now you are ;  
 Which you wou'd gratefully repay, 115  
 Your constant presbyterian way.<sup>4</sup>  
 That's stranger, quoth the Knight, and stranger,  
 Who gave thee notice of my danger ;  
 Quoth he, Th' infernal conjurer  
 Pursu'd, and took me prisoner ; 120  
 And, knowing you were hereabout,  
 Brought me along to find you out.  
 Where I, in hugger-mugger hid,<sup>5</sup>  
 Have noted all they said or did :

<sup>2</sup> *What art ? my Squire, or that bold sprite  
 That took his place and shape to-night ?*] Sir Hudibras, we may  
 remember, though he had no objection to consult with evil spirits,  
 did not speak of them with much respect.

<sup>3</sup> *Who 'as dragg'd your donship out o' th' mire,*] The word don is  
 often used to signify a knight.

<sup>4</sup> *Which you wou'd gratefully repay,  
 Your constant presbyterian way.*] The poet still preserves the  
 wrangling temper of the dissenting brethren.

<sup>5</sup> *Where I, in hugger-mugger hid,*] Thus Shakspeare, in Hamlet :

And, tho' they lay to him the pageant, 125  
 I did not see him nor his agent ;  
 Who play'd their sorceries out of sight,  
 T' avoid a fiercer second fight.

But didst thou see no devils then ?  
 Not one, quoth he, but carnal men, 130  
 A little worse than fiends in hell,  
 And that she-devil Jezebel,  
 That laugh'd and tee-he'd with derision  
 To see them take your deposition.

What then, quoth Hudibras, was he 135  
 That play'd the dev'l to examine me ?  
 A rallying weaver in the town,<sup>6</sup>  
 That did it in a parson's gown,  
 Whom all the parish take for gifted,  
 But, for my part, I ne'er believ'd it : 140  
 In which you told them all your feats,  
 Your conscientious frauds and cheats ;  
 Deny'd your whipping, and confess'd,<sup>7</sup>  
 The naked truth of all the rest,

" We've done but greenly in *hugger-mugger* to inter him, poor Ophelia." " All the modern editions," says Dr. Johnson, " give it, *in private* ; if phraseology is to be changed, as words grow uncouth by disuse, or gross by vulgarity, the history of every language will be lost, we shall no longer have the words of any author, and as these alterations will often be unskilfully made, we shall in time have very little of his meaning."

<sup>6</sup> *A rallying weaver in the town,*] This line should begin a new paragraph, as it belongs to a new and different speaker.

<sup>7</sup> — and confess'd

*The naked truth of all the rest,*

*More plainly than the rev'rend writer*

*That to our churches veil'd his miter ;*] It has been supposed that

More plainly than the rev'rend writer      145  
That to our churches veil'd his miter ;

the person here meant was Williams, bishop of Lincoln, afterward archbishop of York. Some of his tracts seem to apologize for the dissenters.—Letter to the Vicar of Grantham.—And Holy Table, name and thing ; against placing the communion table at the east end of the chancel, and setting rails before it. He delivered the town and castle of Conwy\* to the parliament, and had a private conference with Prynne and others : was certainly a violent opponent of Laud, and for some time a favourite with the dissenters. Perhaps his great passion, pride and vanity, failings, as my worthy friend Mr. Pennant says (*Tour in Wales*, vol. ii. p. 295), to which his countrymen are often subject, might have occasioned him to espouse the interest of the dissenters, in order to shew his resentment to Laud and Wren. In the same spirit he is thought to have delivered Conwy to general Mytton, because he had been superseded in the custody of that place by Prince Rupert. In the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1789, is a letter from Oliver Cromwell to archbishop Williams, from which it appears that there was a good understanding between them. The date is September 1, 1647. Others have imagined that this passage alludes to Graham, bishop of Orkney, or Adair bishop of Kilala. In Keith's *Lives of the Scottish Bishops*, the former, we read, was translated from Dunblane to Orkney ; which see he held from 1615 to 1638. He was very rich, and being threatened by the assembly of Glasgow, he renounced his episcopal function ; and in a letter to that assembly declared his unfeigned sorrow and grief, for having exercised so sinful an office in the church. In the Catalogue of the Bishops of Scotland to 1688, Edin. 1755, occurs Alexander Lindsay, who continued in the see of Dunkeld till 1638, when he renounced his office, abjured episcopacy, submitted to presbyterian parity, and accepted from the then rulers his former church of St. Mado's. In the opinion of others this reflection was designed for Croft, bishop of Hereford ; who, though he could not have been directly intended by the squire, might, perhaps, be obliquely glanced at by the poet. In 1675, two or three years before the publication of this part of the poem, came out a pamphlet by an anonymous writer, but generally attributed to

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\* Conwy signifies the first or chief of waters.

All which they took in black and white,  
And cudgell'd me to underwrite.

What made thee, when they all were gone,  
And none but thou and I alone, 150  
To act the devil, and forbear  
To rid me of my hellish fear ?

Quoth he, I knew your constant rate,  
And frame of sp'rit too obstinate,  
To be by me prevail'd upon, 155  
With any motives of my own ;  
And therefore strove to counterfeit  
The dev'l awhile, to nick your wit ;  
The devil that is your constant crony,  
That only can prevail upon ye ; 160  
Else we might still have been disputing,  
And they with weighty drubs confuting.

The Knight, who now began to find  
They'd left the enemy behind,  
And saw no farther harm remain, 165  
But feeble weariness and pain,

the bishop of Hereford, called, *The naked Truth*, a title which gives a striking air of probability to the supposition. In this piece the distinction of the three orders of the church is flatly denied, and endeavoured to be disproved : the surplice, bowing toward the altar, kneeling at the sacrament, and other ceremonies of the church are condemned ; while most of the pleas for non-conformists are speciously and zealously supported. This pamphlet fell not within the compass of time comprised in the poem ; but Mr. Butler might think proper to hint at it, because it made a great noise, and was much talked of. Andrew Marvell, in his *Rehearsal Transposed*, says, it is written with the pen of an angel.

Perceiv'd, by losing of their way,  
 They 'ad gain'd th' advantage of the day,  
 And, by declining of the road,  
 They had, by chance, their rear made good;  
 He ventur'd to dismiss his fear,  
 That parting's wont to rant and tear,  
 And give the desp'ratest attack  
 To danger still behind its back :  
 For having paus'd to recollect, 175  
 And on his past success reflect,  
 T' examine and consider why,  
 And whence, and how, he came to fly,  
 And when no devil had appear'd,  
 What else it could be said he fear'd, 180  
 It put him in so fierce a rage,  
 He once resolv'd to re-engage ;  
 Toss'd, like a foot-ball, back again  
 With shame, and vengeance, and disdain.\*  
 Quoth he, It was thy cowardice, 185  
 That made me from this leaguer rise,  
 And when I'd half reduc'd the place,  
 To quit it infamously base,  
 Was better cover'd by the new  
 Arriv'd detachment, than I knew ;\* 190

\* *Toss'd, like a foot-ball, back again*  
*With shame, and vengeance, and disdain.]*

— æstuat ingens

Uno in corde pudor, mixtoque insania luctu,  
 Et furiis agitatus amor, et conscia virtus. Æneis x. 870.

• *Was better cover'd by the new*  
*Arriv'd detachment, than I knew ;]* Here seems a defect in cohe-

To slight my new acquests, and run,  
 Victoriously, from battles won;  
 And, reck'ning all I gain'd or lost,  
 To sell them cheaper than they cost;  
 To make me put myself to flight, 195  
 And, conqu'ring, run away by night;  
 To drag me out, which th' haughty foe  
 Durst never have presum'd to do;  
 To mount me in the dark, by force,  
 Upon the bare ridge of my horse. 200  
 Expos'd in querpo to their rage,  
 Without my arms and equipage;<sup>1</sup>  
 Lest, if they ventur'd to pursue,  
 I might th' unequal fight renew;  
 And, to preserve my outward man, 205  
 Assum'd my place, and led the van.

All this, quoth Ralph, I did, 'tis true,  
 Not to preserve myself, but you:  
 You, who were damn'd to baser drubs  
 Than wretches feel in powd'ring tubs,<sup>2</sup> 210

rency and syntax. The Knight means, that it was dishonourable in him to quit the siege, especially when reinforced by the arrival of the Squire.

<sup>1</sup> *Expos'd in querpo to their rage,*

*Without my arms and equipage;*] *Querpo*, from the Spanish *cuerpo*, corpus, here signifies a waistcoat, or close jacket. Butler, in MS. Common-place book, says, all coats of arms were defensive, and worn upon shields; though the ancient use of them is now given over, and men fight in querpo. See Junii Etymolog. to fight in buff. ["Boy, my cloak and rapier; it fits not a gentleman of my rank to walk the streets in querpo." Beaumont and Fletcher.—Love's Cure, ii. 1.]

<sup>2</sup> *You, who were damn'd to baser drubs*

*Than wretches feel in powd'ring tubs,*] The poet often leaves

To mount two-wheel'd carroches, worse  
 Than managing a wooden horse ;<sup>3</sup>  
 Dragg'd out thro' straiter holes by th' ears,  
 Eras'd, or coop'd for perjurers ;<sup>4</sup>

room for various conjectures. Critics, to explain this passage, have thought of the Dutch punishment of pumping : of the Salpetriere prison at Paris : of the martyrs ground in a mill : but I believe it alludes to the old method of attempting to cure the venereal disease by sudorifics, mentioned under the words sweating-lanthorns—to preserve you from the blows or pains (the cause for the effect) more severe than those which venereal patients suffer by the awkward attempt to cure, before the use of mercury, which was not much known before the restoration : Butler is so loose in his grammatical construction, that powdering may allude to drubs, and signify violent, as at v. 1055 of this canto :

Laid on in haste with such a powder,  
 That blows grew louder still and louder.

The preacher's pulpit is often called a tub, and sometimes a sweating tub, from the violence of action when the preacher thumped the cushion like a drum. In a ballad falsely ascribed to Butler, called *Oliver's Court*, *Posthumous Works*, vol. ii. p. 240 :

If it be one of the *eating* tribe,  
 Both a pharisee and a scribe,  
 And hath learn'd the sniveling tone  
 Of a fluxt devotion,  
 Cursing from his *sweating-tub*.

Perhaps it would be better, if in the first line we read, canting tribe. See P. ii. c. iii. v. 759, note.

<sup>3</sup> *To mount two-wheel'd carroches, worse*

*Than managing a wooden horse ;*] Carroche properly signifies coach, from the French *carosse* ; but in burlesque it is a cart, particularly that in which convicts are carried to execution. Riding the wooden-horse was a punishment inflicted on soldiers. That is, you who was damned, or condemn'd to be dragg'd, &c.

<sup>4</sup> *Dragg'd out thro' straiter holes by th' ears,*

*Eras'd, or coop'd for perjurers ;*] Erased, in heraldry, is when a member seems forcibly torn, or plucked off from the body, so that



Who, tho' th' attempt had prov'd in vain, 215  
 Had had no reason to complain ;  
 But, since it prosper'd, 'tis unhandsome  
 To blame the hand that paid your ransom,  
 And rescu'd your obnoxious bones  
 From unavoidable battoons. 220  
 The enemy was reforc'd,  
 And we disabled and unhors'd,  
 Disarm'd, unqualify'd for fight,  
 And no way left but hasty flight,  
 Which, tho' as desp'rate in th' attempt,<sup>s</sup> 225  
 Has giv'n you freedom to condemn 't.  
 But were our bones in fit condition  
 To reinforce the expedition,  
 'Tis now unseasonable and vain,  
 To think of falling on again : 230  
 No martial project to surprise  
 Can ever be attempted twice ;<sup>6</sup>  
 Nor cast design serve afterwards,  
 As gamesters tear their losing cards.  
 Beside, our bangs of man and beast 235  
 Are fit for nothing now but rest,

it looked jagged like the teeth of a saw ; it is used in contradistinction to coup'd, which signifies a thing cut off clean and smooth. Set in the pillory, and coup'd, from the French coupé, cropped. The knight had incurred the guilt of perjury.

<sup>s</sup> *Which, tho' as desp'rate in th' attempt,]* Suppose we read :

Which, tho' 'twas desp'rate——

<sup>6</sup> *No martial project to surprise,*

*Can ever be attempted twice ;]* A coup de main, or project of taking by surprise, if it does not succeed at first, ought not to be persevered in. Non licet bis peccare, is a known military maxim.

And for a while will not be able  
 To rally, and prove serviceable :  
 And therefore I, with reason, chose  
 This stratagem t' amuse our foes 240  
 To make an hon'able retreat,  
 And wave a total sure defeat :  
 For those that fly may fight again,  
 Which he can never do that's slain.<sup>7</sup>  
 Hence timely running's no mean part 245  
 Of conduct, in the martial art,  
 By which some glorious feats achieve,  
 As citizens by breaking thrive,  
 And cannons conquer armies, while  
 They seem to draw off and recoil ; 250  
 Is held the gallant'st course, and bravest,<sup>8</sup>  
 To great exploits, as well as safest ;  
 That spares th' expense of time and pains,  
 And dang'rous beating out of brains ;

<sup>7</sup> *For those that fly may fight again,*

*Which he can never do that's slain.]* Demosthenes justified his flight from the battle of Chæronea by the same argument.

*'Ανὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχέσεται.*

It is an iambic from some poet, Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. lib. 17. 21. Dr. Jortin, in his Tracts, would read, *'Ανὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν γὰρ φεύξεται.* He who has an inclination to read more concerning this Senarius proverbialis quo monemur non protinus abjicere animum, si quid parum feliciter successerit, nam victos posse vincere : proinde Homerus, &c. may consult Erasm. Adagia.—The Satyre Menippée has the idea thus expressed :

Souvent celui qui demeure  
 Est cause de son meschef,  
 Celui qui fuit de bonne heure  
 Peut combattre derechef.

<sup>8</sup> *Is held the gallant'st course, and bravest,]* In some editions we read : *'Tis held the gallant'st—*

And, in the end, prevails as certain 255  
 As those that never trust to fortune ;  
 But make their fear do execution  
 Beyond the stoutest resolution ;  
 As earthquakes kill without a blow,  
 And, only trembling, overthrow. 260  
 If th' ancients crown'd their bravest men  
 That only sav'd a citizen,  
 What victory cou'd e'er be one,  
 If ev'ry one would save but one ?  
 Or fight endanger'd to be lost, 265  
 Where all resolve to save the most ?  
 By this means, when a battle's won,  
 The war's as far from being done ;  
 For those that save themselves and fly,  
 Go halves, at least, i' th' victory ; 270  
 And sometime, when the loss is small,  
 And danger great, they challenge all ;  
 Print new additions to their feats,  
 And emendations in gazettes ;  
 And when, for furious haste to run, 275  
 They durst not stay to fire a gun,  
 Have done 't with bonfires, and at home  
 Made squibs and crackers overcome ;  
 To set the rabble on a flame,  
 And keep their governors from blame, 280  
 Disperse the news the pulpit tells,\*  
 Confirm'd with fire-works and with bells :

\* *Disperse the news the pulpit tells,*] " In their sermons," says Burnet, " and chiefly in their prayers, all that passed in the state " was canvassed. Men were as good as named, and either recom-

And tho' reduc'd to that extreme,  
 They have been forc'd to sing Te Deum ;  
 Yet, with religious blasphemy, 285  
 By flattering heav'n with a lie ;  
 And, for their beating, giving thanks,  
 They've rais'd recruits, and fill'd their ranks ;<sup>1</sup>  
 For those who run from th' enemy,  
 Engage them equally to fly ; 290

“ mended or complained of to God, as they were odious or acceptable to them. At length this humour grew so petulant, that the pulpit was a scene of news and passion.”

<sup>1</sup> *And, for their beating, giving thanks,*

*They've rais'd recruits, and fill'd their ranks ;*] It has been an ancient and very frequent practice for the vanquished party in war to boast of victory, and even to ordain solemn thanksgivings, as means of keeping up the spirits of the people. The parliament often had recourse to this artifice, and in the course of the war had thirty-five thanksgiving days. In the first notable encounter, at Wickfield near Worcester, September 23, 1642, their forces received a total defeat. Whitelock says, they were all killed or routed, and only one man lost on the king's side. Yet the parliamentarians spread about printed papers, bragging of it as a complete victory, and ordained a special thanksgiving in London. This they did after the battle of Keynton, and the second fight at Newbery ; but particularly when sir William Waller received that great defeat at Roundway-down, they kept a thanksgiving at Gloucester, and made rejoicings for a signal victory, which they pretended he had gained for them. This was no new practice. See Polyæni Stratagem. lib. i. cap. 35, and 44.—Stratocles persuaded the Athenians to offer a sacrifice to the gods, by way of thanks, on account of their having defeated their enemies, and yet he knew that the Athenian fleet had been defeated. When the truth was known, and the people exasperated, his reply was, “ What injury have I done you, it is owing to me that you have spent “ three days in joy.”—Catherine of Medicis was used to say, that a false report, if believed for three days, might save a state.—See many stories of the same kind in the General Dictionary, vol. x. p. 337.

And when the fight becomes a chace,  
 Those win the day that win the race ;<sup>2</sup>  
 And that which would not pass in fights,  
 Has done the feat with easy flights ;<sup>3</sup>  
 Recover'd many a desp'rate campaign                    295  
 With Bourdeaux, Burgundy, and Champaign ;  
 Restor'd the fainting high and mighty,  
 With brandy-wine, and aquavitæ ;  
 And made them stoutly overcome  
 With bacrack, hoccamore, and mum ;<sup>4</sup>                    300  
 Whom th' uncontroll'd decrees of fate  
 To victory necessitate ;  
 With which, altho' they run or burn,<sup>5</sup>  
 They unavoidably return ;  
 Or else their sultan populaces                                305  
 Still strangle all their routed bassas.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *And when the fight becomes a chace,*

*Those win the day that win the race ;*] An old philosopher, at a drinking match, insisted that he had won the prize because he was first drunk.

<sup>3</sup> *And that which would not pass in fights,*

*Has done the feat with easy flights ;*]

Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit.

<sup>4</sup> *With bacrack, hoccamore, and mum ;*] The first is an excellent kind of Rhenish wine, so called from a town of that name in the lower Palatinate. [Bacharach. Henry Stephens preferred this wine to every other.] Heylin derived the name of bacrack from Bacchi ara. [It was an antient tradition.] Hoccamore is what we call old hock. Mum is a liquor used in Germany, and made, as I am told, from wheat malted.

<sup>5</sup> *With which, altho' they run or burn,*] That is, though they run away, or their ships are fired. See v. 308.

<sup>6</sup> *Or else their sultan populaces*

*Still strangle all their routed bassas.*] The mob, like the sultan or grand seignior, seldom fail to strangle any of their commanders,

Quoth Hudibras, I understand  
 What fights thou mean'st at sea and land,  
 And who those were that run away,  
 And yet gave out th' had won the day ;<sup>7</sup> 310  
 Although the rabble sous'd them for 't,  
 O'er head and ears, in mud and dirt.  
 'Tis true our modern way of war  
 Is grown more politic by far,<sup>8</sup>

called bassas, if they prove unsuccessful ; thus Waller was neglected after the battle of Roundway-down, called by the wits Runaway-down.

<sup>7</sup> *And who those were that run away,*

*And yet gave out th' had won the day ;* ] The poet might farther have illustrated this subject, if he had known the contents of an essay lately published by Mr. Maclaurin, to prove that Troy really was not taken by the Greeks. See the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh : this whim is as old as Dio Chrysostom, who wrote an elaborate tract, still extant, to demonstrate his Paradox.

<sup>8</sup> *'Tis true our modern way of war*

*Is grown more politic by far,* ] Mr. Butler's MS. Common-place book has the following lines :

For fighting now is out of mode,  
 And stratagem's the only road ;  
 Unless in th' out-of-fashion wars,  
 Of barb'rous Turks and Polanders.  
 All feats of arms are now reduc'd  
 To chousing, or to being chous'd ;  
 They fight not now to overthrow,  
 But gull, or circumvent a foe.  
 And watch all small advantages  
 As if they fought a game at chess ;  
 And he's approv'd the most deserving,  
 Who longest can hold out at starving.  
 Who makes best fricasees of cats,  
 Of frogs and —, and mice and rats ;  
 Pottage of vermin, and ragoos  
 Of trunks and boxes, and old shoes.  
 And those who, like th' immortal gods,  
 Do never eat, have still the odds.

But not so resolute and bold, 315  
Nor ty'd to honour, as the old.  
For now they laugh at giving battle,  
Unless it be to herds of cattle ;  
Or fighting convoys of provision,  
The whole design o' th' expedition, 320  
And not with downright blows to rout  
The enemy, but eat them out :  
As fighting, in all beasts of prey,  
And eating, are perform'd one way,  
To give defiance to their teeth, 325  
And fight their stubborn guts to death ;  
And those achieve the high'st renown,  
That bring the other stomachs down.  
There's now no fear of wounds nor maiming,  
All dangers are reduc'd to famine, 330  
And feats of arms to plot, design,  
Surprise, and stratagem, and mine ;  
But have no need nor use of courage,  
Unless it be for glory, or forage :  
For if they fight 'tis but by chance, 335  
When one side vent'ring to advance,  
And come uncivilly too near,  
Are charg'd unmercifully i' th' rear,  
And forc'd, with terrible resistance,  
To keep hereafter at a distance, 340  
To pick out ground t' encamp upon,  
Where store of largest rivers run,  
That serve, instead of peaceful barriers,  
To part th' engagements of their warriors ;

Where both from side to side may skip, 345  
 And only encounter at bo-peep :  
 For men are found the stouter-hearted,  
 The certainer they're to be parted,  
 And therefore post themselves in bogs,  
 As th' ancient mice attack'd the frogs,<sup>9</sup> 350  
 And made their mortal enemy,  
 The water-rat, their strict ally.<sup>1</sup>  
 For 'tis not now, who's stout and bold ?  
 But, who bears hunger best, and cold ?<sup>2</sup>  
 And he's approv'd the most deserving, 355  
 Who longest can hold out at starving ;  
 And he that routs most pigs and cows,  
 The formidablest man of prowess.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *As th' ancient mice attack'd the frogs,*] Alluding to the poem on the Battle between the Mice and the Frogs, attributed to Homer.

<sup>1</sup> *And made their mortal enemy,  
 The water-rat, their strict ally.*] The Dutch, who seemed to favour the parliamentarians.

<sup>2</sup> *For 'tis not now who's stout and bold ?  
 But who bears hunger best, and cold ?*] An ordinance was passed March 26, 1644, for the contribution of one meal a week toward the charge of the army.

<sup>3</sup> *And he's approv'd the most deserving,  
 Who longest can hold out at starving ;  
 And he that routs most pigs and cows,  
 The formidablest man of prowess.*] A sneer, perhaps, on Venables and Pen, who were unfortunate in their expedition against the Spaniards at St. Domingo, in the year 1655. It is observed of them, that they exercised their valour only on horses, asses, and such like, making a slaughter of all they met, greedily devouring skins, entrails and all, to satiate their hunger. See *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iii. No. xii. p. 494. 498.



So th' emperor Caligula,  
 That triumph'd o'er the British sea,<sup>4</sup> 360  
 Took crabs and oysters prisoners,  
 And lobsters, 'stead of cuirassiers,<sup>5</sup>  
 Engag'd his legions in fierce bustles  
 With periwinkles, prawns, and muscles,  
 And led his troops with furious gallops, 865  
 To charge whole regiments of scallops ;  
 Not like their ancient way of war,  
 To wait on his triumphal car ;  
 But when he went to dine or sup,  
 More bravely ate his captives up, 370  
 And left all war, by his example,  
 Reduc'd to vict'ling of a camp well.

Quoth Ralph, By all that you have said,  
 And twice as much that I cou'd add,

<sup>4</sup> *So th' emperor Caligula,*

*That triumph'd o'er the British sea,*] Caligula, having ranged his army on the sea-shore, and disposed his instruments of war as if he was just going to engage, while every one wondered what he designed to do, on a sudden ordered his men to gather up the shells on the strand, and to fill their helmets and their bosoms with them, calling them the spoils of the conquered ocean. Suetonius in vita Caligulæ.

<sup>5</sup> *Took crabs and oysters prisoners,*

*And lobsters, 'stead of cuirassiers,*] Sir Arthur Hazelrig had a regiment called his lobsters ; it has been thought by some, that the defeat at Roundway-down was owing to the ill behaviour of this regiment. Cleveland, in his character of a London diurnal, says, " This is the William which is the city's champion, and the diurnal's " delight. Yet in all this triumph, translate the scene but to " Roundway-down, there Hazelrig's lobsters were turned into crabs, " and crawled backwards."

'Tis plain you cannot now do worse                    375  
 Than take this out-of-fashion'd course ;  
 To hope, by stratagem, to woo her,  
 Or waging battle to subdue her ;  
 Tho' some have done it in romances,  
 And bang'd them into am'rous fancies ;                    380  
 As those who won the Amazons,  
 By wanton drubbing of their bones ;  
 And stout Rinaldo gain'd his bride<sup>6</sup>  
 By courting of her back and side.  
 But since those times and feats are over,                    385  
 They are not for a modern lover,  
 When mistresses are too cross-grain'd,  
 By such addresses to be gain'd ;  
 And if they were, would have it out  
 With many another kind of bout.                    390  
 Therefore I hold no course s'infeasible,  
 As this of force, to win the Jezebel,  
 To storm her heart by th'antic charms  
 Of ladies errant, force of arms ;  
 But rather strive by law to win her,                    395  
 And try the title you have in her.  
 Your case is clear, you have her word,  
 And me to witness the accord ;<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *And stout Rinaldo gain'd his bride*] See the interview between Rinaldo and Armida, in the last book of Tasso. Or perhaps the poet, quoting by memory, mistook the name, and intended to have mentioned Ruggiero in Ariosto.

<sup>7</sup> *And me to witness the accord ;*] Ralpho, no doubt, was ready to witness any thing that would serve his turn ; and hoped the widow's two attendants would do the same.

Besides two more of her retinue  
 To testify what pass'd between you ; 400  
 More probable, and like to hold,  
 Than hand, or seal, or breaking gold,<sup>a</sup>  
 For which so many that renounc'd  
 Their plighted contracts have been trounc'd,  
 And bills upon record been found, 405  
 That forc'd the ladies to compound ;  
 And that, unless I miss the matter,  
 Is all the bus'ness you look after.  
 Besides, encounters at the bar  
 Are braver now than those in war, 410  
 In which the law does execution,  
 With less disorder and confusion ;  
 Has more of honour in 't, some hold,  
 Not like the new way, but the old,<sup>b</sup>  
 When those the pen had drawn together,<sup>1</sup> 415  
 Decided quarrels with the feather,  
 And winged arrows kill'd as dead,  
 And more than bullets now of lead :<sup>2</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *More probable, and like to hold,*

*Than hand, or seal, or breaking gold ;*] See note on P. ii. c. i. l. 585.

<sup>b</sup> *Has more of honour in 't, some hold,*

*Not like the new way, but the old,*] The poet's ideas crowd so fast upon him, that he is not always quite intelligible at first reading. Ralpho persuades the knight to gain the widow, at least her fortune, not by the fire-arms now in use, but by law ; the feathered arrow of the lawyer.

<sup>1</sup> *When those the pen had drawn together,*] Does he mean those whom written challenges had brought to fight ? or does he allude to the Latin phrase for enlisting : *conscripti milites, conscribere exercitus* ?

<sup>2</sup> *And winged arrows kill'd as dead,*

*And more than bullets now of lead ;*] Bishop Wilkins, (*Mathem.*

So all their combats now, as then,  
 Are manag'd chiefly by the pen ; 420  
 That does the feat, with braver vigours,  
 In words at length, as well as figures ;  
 Is judge of all the world performs  
 In voluntary feats of arms,  
 And whatsoe'r's atchiev'd in fight, 425  
 Determines which is wrong or right ;  
 For whether you prevail, or lose,  
 All must be try'd there in the close ;<sup>a</sup>  
 And therefore 'tis not wise to shun  
 What you must trust to ere ye've done. 430  
 The law that settles all you do,  
 And marries where you did but woo ;  
 That makes the most perfidious lover,  
 A lady, that's as false, recover ;<sup>d</sup>  
 And if it judge upon your side, 435  
 Will soon extend her for your bride,<sup>e</sup>  
 And put her person, goods, or lands,  
 Or which you like best, int' your hands.

Magic,) maintains, that the engines of the ancients, ballistæ and catapultæ, did more execution, and were far more portable, than cannon. See likewise sir Clement Edmonds's judicious observations upon Cæsar's Commentaries. Battles in ancient times seem to have been attended with more casualties than since the invention of gun-powder.

<sup>a</sup> *For whether you prevail, or lose,*

*All must be try'd there in the close ;]* Ralpho goes on to extol the energy of the pen, which, in the hand of the historian, can controul even the most warlike efforts.

<sup>d</sup> *A lady, that's as false, recover ;]* That is, the law will recover a lady that is as false as the most perfidious lover.

<sup>e</sup> *Will soon extend her for your bride,]* Lay an extent upon her ; seize her for your use.

For law's the wisdom of all ages,  
 And manag'd by the ablest sages, 440  
 Who, tho' their bus'ness at the bar  
 Be but a kind of civil war,  
 In which th'engage with fiercer dudgeons  
 Than e'er the Grecians did, and Trojans ;  
 They never manage the contest 445  
 T' impair their public interest,  
 Or by their controversies lessen  
 The dignity of their profession :  
 Not like us brethren, who divide  
 Our commonwealth, the cause, and side ;<sup>6</sup> 450  
 And tho' we 're all as near of kindred  
 As th' outward man is to the inward,  
 We agree in nothing, but to wrangle  
 About the slightest fingle-fangle,  
 While lawyers have more sober sense, 455  
 Than t' argue at their own expense,<sup>7</sup>  
 But make their best advantages  
 Of others' quarrels, like the Swiss ;<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Our commonwealth, the cause, and side ;*] Take part on one side or the other. Whereas we who have a common interest, a common cause, a common party against the royalists and episcopalian, weaken our strength by internal divisions among ourselves.

<sup>7</sup> *While lawyers have more sober sense,*

*Than t' argue at their own expense,*] The wisdom of lawyers is such, that however they may seem to quarrel at the bar, yet they are good friends the moment they leave the court. Unlike us, independents and presbyterians, who, though our opinions are very similar, are always wrangling about the merest trifles.

<sup>8</sup> *But make their best advantages*

*Of others' quarrels, like the Swiss ;*] The Swiss, if they are well

And out of foreign controversies,  
 By aiding both sides, fill their purses ; 460  
 But have no int'rest in the cause  
 For which th' engage, and wage the laws,  
 Nor further prospect than their pay,  
 Whether they lose or win the day.  
 And tho' th' abounded in all ages, 465  
 With sundry learned clerks and sages ;  
 Tho' all their bus'ness be dispute,  
 Which way they canvass ev'ry suit,  
 They've no disputes about their art,  
 Nor in polemics controvert ; 470  
 While all professions else are found  
 With nothing but disputes t' abound :  
 Divines of all sorts, and physicians,  
 Philosophers, mathematicians ;  
 The Galenist, and Paracelsian, 475  
 Condemn the way each other deals in ;<sup>a</sup>  
 Anatomists dissect and mangle,  
 To cut themselves out work to wrangle ;  
 Astrologers dispute their dreams,  
 That in their sleeps they talk of schemes ; 480

paid, will enter into the service of any foreign power ; but, point d'argent, point de Suisse. An old distich says :

Theologis animam subjecit lapsus Adami  
 Et corpus medicis, et bona juridicis.

<sup>a</sup> *The Galenist, and Paracelsian,*

*Condemn the way each other deals in ;*] The followers of Galen were advocates for the virtues and use of plants ; the disciples of Paracelsus recommended chemical preparations.

And heralds stickle, who got who,  
So many hundred years ago.

But lawyers are too wise a nation  
T' expose their trade to disputation,  
Or make the busy rabble judges 485  
Of all their secret piques and grudges ;  
In which, whoever wins the day,  
The whole profession's sure to pay.<sup>1</sup>  
Beside, no mountebanks, nor cheats,  
Dare undertake to do their feats, 490  
When in all other sciences  
They swarm like insects, and increase.

For what bigot durst ever draw,<sup>2</sup>  
By inward light, a deed in law ?  
Or could hold forth by revelation, 495  
An answer to a declaration ?  
For those that meddle with their tools,  
Will cut their fingers, if they're fools :  
And if you follow their advice,  
In bills, and answers, and replies, 500  
They'll write a love-letter in chancery,  
Shall bring her upon oath to answer ye,  
And soon reduce her to b' your wife,  
Or make her weary of her life.

<sup>1</sup> *The whole profession's sure to pay.*] That is, whoever wins is sure to pay the whole profession ; or rather, whether serjeant A or counsellor B be more successful in abusing each other, the whole profession of the law is disgraced by their scurrilities.

<sup>2</sup> *For what bigot durst ever draw,*] The accent is here laid on the last syllable of bigot.

The Knight, who us'd with tricks and shifts  
 To edify by Ralpho's gifts,  
 But in appearance cry'd him down,<sup>3</sup>  
 To make them better seem his own,  
 All plagiaries' constant course  
 Of sinking when they take a purse,<sup>4</sup> 510  
 Resolv'd to follow his advice,  
 But kept it from him by disguise;  
 And, after stubborn contradiction,  
 To counterfeit his own conviction,  
 And, by transition, fall upon 515  
 The resolution as his own.<sup>5</sup>

Quoth he, This gambol thou advisest  
 Is, of all others, the unwisest;  
 For, if I think by law to gain her,  
 There's nothing sillier, nor vainer. 520  
 'Tis but to hazard my pretence,  
 Where nothing's certain but th' expense;

<sup>3</sup> *But in appearance cry'd him down,*] Perhaps a better reading would be,—cry'd 'em down.

<sup>4</sup> *All plagiaries' constant course*

*Of sinking, when they take a purse,*] Such as steal out of other men's works, and abuse the authors they are beholden to, are like highwaymen who abuse those whom they rob. Or perhaps sinking may mean stooping, or diving with the hand to reach a person's pocket. Pickpockets in partnership may be apt to *sink* or conceal part of the booty from their companions. But I must refer to the Bow-street Vocabulary. [The meaning is simply the plagiarist conceals his robbery as the pickpocket does his.]

<sup>5</sup> *And, by transition, fall upon*

*The resolution as his own.*] Dr. Thomas Burnet says, Libentius auscultamus rationibus, et argumentis a nobis ipsis inventis, quàm ab aliis propositis; ut, cum sententiam mutamus, non tam ab aliis victi, quam a nobismet ipsis edocti, id fecisse videamur.



To act against myself, and traverse  
 My suit and title to her favours ;  
 And if she should, which heav'n forbid,       525  
 O'erthrow me, as the fiddler did,  
 What after-course have I to take,  
 'Gainst losing all I have at stake ?  
 He that with injury is griev'd,  
 And goes to law to be reliev'd,       530  
 Is sillier than a sottish chouse,  
 Who, when a thief has robb'd his house,  
 Applies himself to cunning men,  
 To help him to his goods agen ;\*

\* *He that with injury is griev'd,  
 And goes to law to be reliev'd,  
 Is sillier than a sottish chouse,  
 Who, when a thief has robb'd his house,  
 Applies himself to cunning men,  
 To help him to his goods agen ;]*

The misfortunes of too many will incline them to subscribe to the truth of this excellent observation. The word chews or chouse, is derived either from the French, *gausser*, to cheat or laugh at, or from the Italian, *gaffo*, a fool. In Mr. Butler's MS. under these lines, are many severe strictures on lawyers :

More nice and subtle than those wire-drawers  
 Of equity and justice, common lawyers ;  
 Who never end, but always prune a suit  
 To make it bear the greater store of fruit.

As labouring men their hands, criers their lungs,  
 Porters their backs, lawyers hire out their tongues.  
 A tongue to mire and gain accustomed long,  
 Grows quite insensible to right or wrong.

The humourist that would have had a trial,  
 With one that did but look upon his dial,  
 And sued him but for telling of his clock,  
 And saying, 'twas too fast, or slow it struck.

When all he can expect to gain, 535  
 Is but to squander more in vain :  
 And yet I have no other way,  
 But is as difficult to play :  
 For to reduce her by main force  
 Is now in vain ; by fair means, worse ; 540  
 But worst of all to give her over,  
 'Till she's as desp'rate to recover :  
 For bad games are thrown up too soon,  
 Until they're never to be won ;  
 But since I have no other course, 545  
 But is as bad t' attempt, or worse,  
 He that complies against his will,  
 Is of his own opinion still,  
 Which he may adhere to, yet disown,  
 For reasons to himself best known ; 550  
 But 'tis not to b' avoided now,  
 For Sidrophel resolves to sue ;  
 Whom I must answer, or begin,  
 Inevitably, first with him ;  
 For I've receiv'd advertisement, 555  
 By times enough, of his intent ;  
 And knowing he that first complains  
 Th' advantage of the bus'ness gains ;  
 For courts of justice understand  
 The plaintiff to be eldest hand ; 560  
 Who what he pleases may aver,  
 The other nothing till he swear ;<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Who what he pleases may aver,*

*The other nothing till he swear ;*] An answer to a bill in chancery  
 is always upon oath ;—a petition not so.

Is freely admitted to all grace,  
 And lawful favour, by his place ;  
 And, for his bringing custom in, 565  
 Has all advantages to win :  
 I, who resolve to oversee  
 No lucky opportunity,  
 Will go to council, to advise  
 Which way t' encounter, or surprise, 570  
 And after long consideration,  
 Have found out one to fit th' occasion,  
 Most apt for what I have to do,  
 As counsellor, and justice too.<sup>8</sup>  
 And truly so, no doubt, he was, 575  
 A lawyer fit for such a case.

An old dull sot, who told the clock,<sup>9</sup>  
 For many years at Bridewell-dock,  
 At Westminster, and Hicks's-hall,  
 And hiccus doctius<sup>1</sup> play'd in all ; 580

<sup>8</sup> *Most apt for what I have to do,*

*As counsellor and justice too.*] It is probable that the poet had an eye to some particular person in this character. The old annotator says it was one Prideaux ; but gives no further account of him. One of that name was attorney general to the rump, and commissioner of the great seal. He died August 19, in the last year of their reign. Tillotson lived in his family. See Birch's *Life of the Archbishop*, p. 14. He cannot have been here meant. The poet, I imagine, alludes to some one of a much lower class. See the character of a justice in Butler's *Genuine Remains*, vol. ii. p. 190.

<sup>9</sup> *An old dull sot, who told the clock,*] The puisne judge was formerly called the Tell-clock ; as supposed to be not much employed with business in the courts he sat in, but listening how the time went.

<sup>1</sup> *And hiccus doctius*] Cant words used by jugglers, corrupted perhaps from *hic est doctior*.

Where, in all governments and times,  
 He 'ad been both friend and foe to crimes,  
 And us'd two equal ways of gaining,  
 By hind'ring justice, or maintaining;<sup>a</sup>  
 To many a whore gave privilege, 585  
 And whipp'd, for want of quarterage;  
 Cart-loads of bawds to prison sent,  
 For b'ing behind a fortnight's rent;  
 And many a trusty pimp and crony  
 'To Puddle-dock, for want of money: 590  
 Engag'd the constables to seize  
 All those that wou'd not break the peace;  
 Nor give him back his own foul words,  
 Though sometimes commoners, or lords,  
 And kept 'em prisoners of course, 595  
 For being sober at ill hours;  
 That in the morning he might free  
 Or bind 'em over for his fee.  
 Made monsters fine, and puppet-plays,  
 For leave to practise in their ways; 600  
 Farm'd out all cheats, and went a share  
 With th' headborough and scavenger;  
 And made the dirt i' th' streets compound,  
 For taking up the public ground;<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *And us'd two equal ways of gaining,*

*By hind'ring justice, or maintaining,]* Mr. Butler served some years as clerk to a justice. The person who employed him was an able magistrate, and respectable character: but in that situation he might have had an opportunity of making himself acquainted with the practice of trading justices.

<sup>a</sup> *And made the dirt i' th' streets compound,*

*For taking up the public ground;]* Did not levy the penalty for a nuisance, but took a composition in private.

The kennel, and the king's high way, 605  
 For being unmolested, pay ;  
 Let out the stocks and whipping-post,  
 And cage, to those that gave him most ;  
 Impos'd a tax on bakers' ears,<sup>4</sup>  
 And for false weights on chandelers ; 610  
 Made victuallers and vintners fine  
 For arbitrary ale and wine :<sup>5</sup>  
 But was a kind and constant friend  
 To all that regularly offend :  
 As residentiary bawds, 615  
 And brokers that receive stol'n goods ;  
 That cheat in lawful mysteries,  
 And pay church-duties, and his fees ;  
 But was implacable and awkward,  
 To all that interlop'd and hawker'd.<sup>6</sup> 620  
 To this brave man the Knight repairs  
 For counsel in his law-affairs,

<sup>4</sup> *Impos'd a tax on bakers' ears,*] That is, commuted the pillory for a mulct at his own discretion. Libanius has an entire oration against an arbitrary law of the magistrates of Antioch, which obliged the country bakers, when they brought bread into the city for sale, to load back with rubbish.

<sup>5</sup> *Made victuallers and vintners fine,*

*For arbitrary ale and wine :*] For selling ale or wine without licence, or by less than the statutable measure. So Mr. Butler says of his justice, Remains, vol. ii. p. 191. " He does his country signal " service in the judicious and mature legitimation of tippling-  
 " houses ; that the subject be not imposed upon with illegal and  
 " arbitrary ale."

<sup>6</sup> *To all that interlop'd and hawker'd.*] Travelling dealers, who did not keep any regular shop. " He is very severe to hawkers and in-  
 " terlopers, who commit iniquity on the bye." See Remains, where the reader may find other strokes of character similar to those here mentioned.

And found him mounted in his pew,  
With books and money plac'd for shew,  
Like nest-eggs to make clients lay, 625  
And for his false opinion pay :  
To whom the Knight, with comely grace,  
Put off his hat to put his case ;  
Which he as proudly entertain'd,  
As th' other courteously strain'd ; 630  
And, to assure him 'twas not that  
He look'd for, bid him put on's hat.

Quoth he, There is one Sidrophel  
Whom I have cudgell'd—Very well—  
And now he brags to have beaten me— 635  
Better and better still, quoth he—  
And vows to stick me to the wall,  
Where'er he meets me—Best of all.  
'Tis true the knave has taken's oath  
That I robb'd him—Well done, in troth. 640  
When he 'as confess'd he stole my cloak,  
And pick'd my fob, and what he took ;  
Which was the cause that made me bang him,  
And take my goods again—Marry,<sup>7</sup> hang him.  
Now, whether I should before-hand, 645  
Swear he robb'd me ?—I understand.  
Or bring my action of conversion  
And trover for my goods ?<sup>8</sup>—Ah, whoreson !

<sup>7</sup> *Marry*, i. e. very or truly, an adverb of asseveration. Ainsworth thinks it a kind of oath, as if per Mariam—A kind of expletive without much meaning, though perhaps the pettyfogger might wish to be arch on the word *marry*.

<sup>8</sup> *And trover for my goods?*] An action of trover is an action

Or, if 'tis better to endite,  
 And bring him to his trial ?—Right. 650  
 Prevent what he designs to do,  
 And swear for th' state against him ?—True.  
 Or whether he that is defendant,  
 In this case, has the better end on 't ;  
 Who, putting in a new cross-bill, 655  
 May traverse th' action ?—Better still.  
 Then there's a lady too—Aye, marry.  
 That's easily prov'd accessary ;  
 A widow, who by solemn vows,  
 Contracted to me for my spouse, 660  
 Combin'd with him to break her word,  
 And has abetted all—Good Lord !  
 Suborn'd th' aforesaid Sidrophel  
 To tamper with the dev'l of hell,  
 Who put m' into a horrid fear, 665  
 Fear of my life—Make that appear.  
 Made an assault with fiends and men  
 Upon my body—Good agen.  
 And kept me in a deadly fright,  
 And false imprisonment, all night. 670  
 Mean while they robb'd me, and my horse,  
 And stole my saddle—Worse and worse.  
 And made me mount upon the bare ridge,  
 T<sup>r</sup> avoid a wretcheder miscarriage.

brought for recovery of a man's goods, when wrongfully detained by another, and converted to his own use.

<sup>9</sup> *And swear for th' state against him ?—*] Swear that a crime was committed by him against the public peace, or peace of the state.

Sir, quoth the Lawyer, not to flatter ye, 675  
 You have as good and fair a battery  
 As heart can wish, and need not shame  
 The proudest man alive to claim :  
 For if th' have us'd you as you say,  
 Marry, quoth I, God give you joy ; 680  
 I wou'd it were my case, I'd give  
 More than I'll say, or you'll believe :  
 I wou'd so trounce her, and her purse,  
 I'd make her kneel for better or worse ;  
 For matrimony, and hanging here, 685  
 Both go by destiny so clear,<sup>1</sup>  
 That you as sure may pick and choose,  
 As cross I win, and pile you lose :  
 And if I durst, I wou'd advance  
 As much in ready maintenance,<sup>2</sup> 690  
 As upon any case I've known ;  
 But we that practise dare not own :

<sup>1</sup> *For matrimony, and hanging here,  
 Both go by destiny so clear,*] See P. ii. c. i. v. 839. Ames, in  
 his *Typographical Antiquities*, first edition, p. 157, mentions a book  
 printed by Robert Wyer, 1542, entitled, *Mistery of Iniquite*, where  
 we may read :

Trewly some men there be  
 That lyve alwayes in great horroure,  
 And say it goth by destenye  
 To hang or wed, both hath one houre ;  
 And whether it be, I am well sure,  
 Hangynge is better of the twain,  
 Sooner done, and shorter payne.

<sup>2</sup> *As much in ready maintenance,*] Maintenance is the unlawful  
 upholding of a cause or person, or it is the buying or obtaining pre-  
 tended rights to lands.



The law severely contrabands  
 Our taking bus'ness off men's hands ;  
 'Tis common barratry, that bears<sup>a</sup> 695  
 Point-blank an action 'gainst our ears,  
 And crops them till there is not leather,  
 To stick a pen in left of either ;<sup>b</sup>  
 For which some do the summer-sault,  
 And o'er the bar, like tumblers, vault :<sup>c</sup> 700  
 But you may swear at any rate,  
 Things not in nature, for the state ;  
 For in all courts of justice here  
 A witness is not said to swear,  
 But make oath, that is, in plain terms, 705  
 To forge whatever he affirms.

I thank you, quoth the Knight, for that,  
 Because 'tis to my purpose pat—  
 For justice, tho' she's painted blind,  
 Is to the weaker side inclin'd, 710  
 Like charity ; else right and wrong  
 Cou'd never hold it out so long,  
 And, like blind fortune, with a sleight,  
 Conveys men's interest and right,

<sup>a</sup> *'Tis common barratry, that bears*] Barratry is the common and unlawful stirring up of suits or quarrels, either in court or elsewhere.

<sup>b</sup> *To stick a pen in left of either ;*] Most editions read *pin*, but the author's corrected copy says *pen* ; it being the custom of clerks in office, and writers, to stick their pen behind their ears when they do not employ it in writing.

<sup>c</sup> *For which some do the summer-sault,*

*And o'er the bar, like tumblers, vault :*] Summer-sault, soubresaut, throwing heels over head, a feat of activity performed by tumblers. When a lawyer has been guilty of misconduct, and is not allowed to practise in the courts, he is said to be thrown over the bar.

From Stiles's pocket into Nokes's,<sup>6</sup> 715  
 As easily as hocus pocus;<sup>7</sup>  
 Plays fast and loose, makes men obnoxious;  
 And clear again, like hiccus doctius.  
 Then whether you would take her life,  
 Or but recover her for your wife, 720  
 Or be content with what she has,  
 And let all other matters pass,  
 The bus'ness to the law's alone,<sup>8</sup>  
 The proof is all it looks upon;  
 And you can want no witnesses, 725  
 To swear to any thing you please,  
 That hardly get their mere expenses  
 By th' labour of their consciences,  
 Or letting out to hire their ears  
 To affidavit customers, 730  
 At inconsiderable values,  
 To serve for jurymen or tales.<sup>9</sup>  
 Altho' retain'd in th' hardest matters  
 Of trustees and administrators.  
 For that, quoth he, let me alone; 735  
 We've store of such, and all our own,

<sup>6</sup> *From Stiles's pocket into Nokes's,*] Fictitious names, sometimes used in stating cases, issuing writs, &c.

<sup>7</sup> *As easily as hocus pocus;*] Words profanely used by jugglers, if derived, as some suppose, from hoc est corpus.

<sup>8</sup> *The bus'ness to the law's alone,*] A better reading perhaps is,  
 The bus'ness to the law's *all one*.

<sup>9</sup> *To serve for jurymen or tales,*] Talesmen are persons of like rank and quality with such of the principal pannel as do not appear, or are challenged; and who, happening to be in court, are taken to supply their places as jurymen.

Bred up and tutor'd by our teachers,  
Th' ablest of all conscience-stretchers.<sup>1</sup>

That's well, quoth he, but I should guess,  
By weighing all advantages, 740  
Your surest way is first to pitch  
On Bongey for a water-witch ;<sup>2</sup>  
And when y' have hang'd the conjurer,  
Y' have time enough to deal with her.  
In th' int'rim spare for no trepans, 745  
To draw her neck into the banns ;  
Ply her with love-letters and billets,  
And bait 'em well for quirks and quilllets,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bred up and tutor'd by our teachers,*

*Th' ablest of all conscience-stretchers.*] Mr. Downing and Stephen Marshal, who absolved from their oaths the prisoners released at Brentford.

<sup>2</sup> *Your surest way is first to pitch*

*On Bongey for a water-witch ;*] On Sidrophel the reputed conjurer. The poet calls him Bongey, from a learned friar of that name, who lived in Oxford about the end of the thirteenth century, and was deemed a conjurer by the common people. "There was" likewise one mother Bongey, who, in divers books set out by "authority, is registered or chronicled by the name of the great "witch of Rochester." (Grey.) For a water-witch; for one to be tried by the water-ordeal, or perhaps,

One that told fortunes by casting urine ;  
or one to whom

With urine, they flock for curing. P. ii. c. iii. v. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *And bait 'em well for quirks and quilllets,*] Subtleties. Shakspeare frequently used the word quillet. In the First Part of Henry VI. Act ii. the Earl of Warwick says :

But in these quirks and quilllets of the law,  
Good faith, I am no wiser than a daw.  
And Hamlet says, when contemplating the skull of a lawyer :  
Where be his quiddities now ? his quilllets ? his cases ?  
Quilllets, in barbarous Latin, is collecta. [Quibble, quillet, quip and

With trains t' inveigle, and surprise  
 Her heedless answers and replies ; 750  
 And if she miss the mouse-trap lines,  
 They'll serve for other by-designs ;  
 And make an artist understand,  
 To copy out her seal, or hand ;  
 Or find void places in the paper, 755  
 To steal in something to entrap her ;  
 Till, with her worldly goods and body,  
 Spite of her heart she has indow'd ye :  
 Retain all sorts of witnesses,  
 'That ply i' th' Temple, under trees ; 760  
 Or walk the round, with knights o' th' posts,<sup>a</sup>  
 About the cross-legg'd knights, their hosts ;<sup>b</sup>  
 Or wait for customers between  
 The pillar-rows in Lincoln's-Inn ;  
 Where vouchers, forgers, common-bail, 765  
 And affidavit-men ne'er fail  
 T' expose to sale all sorts of oaths,  
 According to their ears and clothes,<sup>c</sup>

quirk, have all puzzled the etymologists, and probably will continue to do so ; there is something in words beginning with *qu* wondrously baffling, as the very instrument of the critic's labours, a quill, possesses scarcely a guess at a derivation.]

<sup>a</sup> *Or walk the round, with knights o' th' posts,*] Witnesses who are ready to swear any thing, whether true or false.

<sup>b</sup> *About the cross-legg'd knights, their hosts ;*] These witnesses frequently plied for custom about the Temple-church, where are several monuments of knights templars, who are there represented cross-legged : [as every where else]—*their host*, because nobody gives them more entertainment than these knights, and they are almost starved.

<sup>c</sup> *T' expose to sale all sorts of oaths,*

*According to their ears and clothes,*] Lord Clarendon, in his History of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 355, says, an Irishman of low

Their only necessary tools,  
 Besides the Gospel, and their souls ;<sup>7</sup> 770  
 And when ye're furnish'd with all purveys,  
 I shall be ready at your service.

I would not give, quoth Hudibras,  
 A straw to understand a case,  
 Without the admirable skill 775  
 To wind and manage it at will ;  
 To veer, and tack, and steer a cause,  
 Against the weather-gage of laws ;  
 And ring the changes upon cases,  
 As plain as noses upon faces ; 780  
 As you have well instructed me,  
 For which you've earn'd, here 'tis, your fee.  
 I long to practise your advice,  
 And try the subtle artifice ;  
 To bait a letter as you bid, 785  
 As, not long after, thus he did :  
 For, having pump'd up all his wit,  
 And humm'd upon it, thus he writ.

condition and meanly clothed, being brought as evidence against lord Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, Mr. Pym gave him money to buy a satin suit and cloak, in which equipage he appeared at the trial. The like was practised in the trial of lord Stafford for the popish plot. See Carte's History of the Life of James Duke of Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 517. It is, I fear, sometimes practised in trials of less importance.

<sup>7</sup> *Their only necessary tools,*

*Besides the Gospel, and their souls ;]* When a witness swears he holds the Gospel in his right hand, and kisses it : the Gospel therefore is called his tool, by which he damns his other tool, namely his soul.

AN HEROICAL EPISTLE  
OF  
HUDIBRAS TO HIS LADY.

I, who was once as great as Cæsar,  
Am now reduc'd to Nebuchadnezzar ;<sup>1</sup>  
And from as fam'd a conqueror,  
As ever took degree in war,  
Or did his exercise in battle, 5  
By you turn'd out to grass with cattle.  
For since I am deny'd access  
To all my earthly happiness,  
Am fall'n from the paradise  
Of your good graces, and fair eyes ; 10  
Lost to the world, and you, I'm sent  
To everlasting banishment,  
Where all the hopes I had t' have won  
Your heart, b'ing dash'd, will break my own.  
Yet if you were not so severe 15  
To pass your doom before you hear,

<sup>1</sup> *I, who was once as great as Cæsar,  
Am now reduc'd to Nebuchadnezzar ;*] See Dan. iv. 32. 33.

*Carmina qui quondam studio florente peregi  
Flebilis heu mæstos cogor inire modos.*

Boethius de Consol. Philosoph.

You'd find, upon my just defence,  
 How much y' have wrong'd my innocence.  
 That once I made a vow to you,  
 Which yet is unperform'd 'tis true ; 20  
 But not because it is unpaid  
 'Tis violated, though delay'd.  
 Or if it were, it is no fault  
 So heinous, as you'd have it thought ;  
 To undergo the loss of ears, 25  
 Like vulgar hackney perjurers ;  
 For there's a difference in the case,  
 Between the noble and the base ;  
 Who always are observ'd to've done't  
 Upon as diff'rent an account ; 30  
 The one for great and weighty cause,  
 To salve in honour ugly flaws ;  
 For none are like to do it sooner  
 Than those who are nicest of their honour ;  
 The other, for base gain and pay, 35  
 Forswear and perjure by the day,  
 And make th' exposing and retailing  
 Their souls, and consciences, a calling.  
 It is no scandal nor aspersion,  
 Upon a great and noble person, 40  
 To say, he nat'rally abhorr'd  
 Th' old-fashion'd trick, to keep his word,  
 Tho' 'tis perfidiousness and shame,  
 In meaner men to do the same :  
 For to be able to forget, 45  
 Is found more useful to the great

Than gout, or deafness, or bad eyes,  
 To make 'em pass for wond'rous wise.  
 But tho' the law, on perjurers,  
 Inflicts the forfeiture of ears. 50  
 It is not just, that does exempt  
 The guilty, and punish the innocent.<sup>a</sup>  
 To make the ears repair the wrong  
 Committed by th' ungovern'd tongue;  
 And when one member is forsworn, 55  
 Another to be cropp'd or torn.  
 And if you shou'd, as you design,  
 By course of law, recover mine,  
 You're like, if you consider right,  
 To gain but little honour by't. 60  
 For he that for his lady's sake  
 Lays down his life, or limbs, at stake,  
 Does not so much deserve her favour,  
 As he that pawns his soul to have her.  
 This y' have acknowledg'd I have done, 65  
 Altho' you now disdain to own;  
 But sentence what you rather ought  
 T<sup>e</sup> esteem good service than a fault.<sup>b</sup>  
 Besides, oaths are not bound to bear  
 That literal sense the words infer, 70  
 But, by the practice of the age,  
 Are to be judg'd how far th' engage;

<sup>a</sup> *The guilty, and punish the innocent,]* A better reading is—*th'* innocent.

<sup>b</sup> *But sentence what you rather ought  
 T<sup>e</sup> esteem good service than a fault.]* Sentence, that is, condemn  
 or pass sentence upon.



And where the sense by custom's checkt,  
 Are found void, and of none effect,  
 For no man takes or keeps a vow, 75  
 But just as he sees others do ;  
 Nor are they oblig'd to be so brittle,  
 As not to yield and bow a little :  
 For as best temper'd blades are found,  
 Before they break, to bend quite round ; 80  
 So truest oaths are still most tough,  
 And, tho' they bow, are breaking proof.  
 Then wherefore should they not b' allow'd  
 In love a greater latitude ?<sup>a</sup>  
 For as the law of arms approves 85  
 All ways to conquest,<sup>b</sup> so shon'd love's ;  
 And not be ty'd to true or false,  
 But make that justest that prevails :  
 For how can that which is above  
 All empire, high and mighty love,<sup>c</sup> 90

<sup>a</sup> *Then wherefore should they not b' allow'd  
 In love a greater latitude ?*]

— perjuriam ridet amantem

Jupiter, et ventos irrita ferre jubet. Tib. iii. El. vii. 17.

So Callimachus, Epig. 26.

<sup>b</sup> *For as the law of arms approves  
 All ways to conquest,—*]

Dolus an virtus, quis, in hoste, requirit ?

<sup>c</sup> *For how can that which is above  
 All empire, high and mighty love,*]

——— "Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν θεῶν

ἰσχυρὸν ἔχον πλεῖστην, ἐπὶ τούτου δεικνύται·

διὰ τούτου ἐπινοοῦσι τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς.

Menand. Frag.

Submit its great prerogative,  
 To any other pow'r alive ?  
 Shall love, that to no crown gives place,  
 Become the subject of a case ?  
 The fundamental law of nature, . 95  
 Be over-rul'd by those made after ?  
 Commit the censure of its cause  
 To any, but its own great laws ?  
 Love, that's the world's preservative,  
 That keeps all souls of things alive ; 100  
 Controuls the mighty pow'r of fate,  
 And gives mankind a longer date ;  
 The life of nature that restores  
 As fast as time and death devours ;  
 To whose free gift the world does owe 105  
 Not only earth, but heaven too :<sup>7</sup>  
 For love's the only trade that's driven,  
 The interest of state in heav'n,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *To whose free gift the world does owe  
 Not only earth, but heaven too :]*

*Quæ mare navigerum, quæ terras frugiferentes  
 Concelebras ; per te quoniam genus omne animantum  
 Concipitur, visitque exortum lumina solis. Lucret. i. 3.*

*Quæ quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas,  
 Nec sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras  
 Exoritur, neque fit lætum, neque amabile quicquam.*

*Idem, i. 22.*

<sup>8</sup> *For love's the only trade that's driven,  
 The interest of state in heav'n,]* Waller says :

*All that we know of those above,  
 Is, that they live and that they love.*

Our Saviour says, " Suffer the little children to come unto me, for  
 " of such is the kingdom of heaven."

Which nothing but the soul of man  
 Is capable to entertain. 110  
 For what can earth produce, but love,  
 To represent the joys above?  
 Or who but lovers can converse,  
 Like angels by the eye-discourse?  
 Address, and compliment by vision, 115  
 Make love, and court by intuition?  
 And burn in am'rous flames as fierce,  
 As those celestial ministers?  
 Then how can any thing offend,  
 In order to so great an end? 120  
 Or heav'n itself a sin resent,  
 That for its own supply was meant?  
 That merits, in a kind mistake,  
 A pardon for th' offence's sake?  
 Or if it did not, but the cause 125  
 Were left to th' injury of laws,  
 What tyranny can disapprove,  
 There should be equity in love?  
 For laws, that are inanimate,  
 And feel no sense of love or hate,\* 130  
 That have no passion of their own,  
 Nor pity to be wrought upon,  
 Are only proper to inflict  
 Revenge on criminals as strict.

\* *For laws, that are inanimate,*

*And feel no sense of love or hate,]* Aristotle defined law to be, reason without passion; and despotism, or arbitrary power to be, passion without reason.

But to have power to forgive, 135  
 Is empire and prerogative ;  
 And 'tis in crowns a nobler gem  
 To grant a pardon, than condemn.  
 Then, since so few do what they ought,  
 'Tis great t' indulge a well-meant fault ; 140  
 For why should he who made address,  
 All humble ways, without success ;  
 And met with nothing in return  
 But insolence, affronts and scorn,  
 Not strive by wit to counter-mine, 145  
 And bravely carry his design ?  
 He who was us'd so unlike a soldier,  
 Blown up with philters of love-powder ;  
 And after letting blood, and purging,  
 Condemn'd to voluntary scourging ; 150  
 Alarm'd with many a horrid fright,  
 And claw'd by goblins in the night ;  
 Insulted on, revil'd and jeer'd,  
 With rude invasion of his beard ;  
 And when your sex was foully scandal'd, 155  
 As foully by the rabble handled ;  
 Attack'd by despicable foes,  
 And drubb'd with mean and vulgar blows ;  
 And, after all, to be debarr'd  
 So much as standing on his guard ; 160  
 When horses being spurr'd and prick'd,  
 Have leave to kick for being kick'd ?  
 Or why should you, whose mother-wits<sup>1</sup>  
 Are furnish'd with all perquisites ;

<sup>1</sup> *Or why should you, whose mother-wits]* Why should you, who

That with your breeding teeth begin, 165  
 And nursing babies that lie in ;  
 B' allow'd to put all tricks upon  
 Our cully sex, and we use none ?  
 We, who have nothing but frail vows  
 Against your stratagems t' oppose ; 170  
 Or oaths, more feeble than your own,  
 By which we are no less put down ?<sup>a</sup>  
 You wound, like Parthians, while you fly,  
 And kill with a retreating eye ;<sup>a</sup>  
 Retire the more, the more we press, 175  
 To draw us into ambushes :  
 As pirates all false colours wear,  
 T' intrap th' unwary mariner ;  
 So women, to surprise us, spread  
 The borrow'd flags of white and red ; 180  
 Display 'em thicker on their cheeks,  
 Than their old grand-mothers, the Picts ;  
 And raise more devils with their looks,  
 Than conjurers' less subtle books :

were sharp and witty from your infancy, who bred wit with your teeth, &c.

<sup>a</sup> *Or oaths more feeble than your own,  
 By which we are no less put down ?*] That is, by which oaths of  
 yours we are no less subdued than by your stratagems.

<sup>a</sup> *You wound, like Parthians, while you fly,  
 And kill with a retreating eye ;*]

*Fidentemque fugâ Parthum versisque sagittis.*

*Virg. Georg. iii. 31.*

The Parthians had the art of shooting their arrows behind them, and making their flight more destructive to the enemy than their attack. Seneca says :

*Terga conversi metuenda Parthi.*

Lay trains of amorous intrigues, 185  
 In tow'rs, and curls, and periwigs,<sup>4</sup>  
 With greater art and cunning rear'd,  
 Than Philip Nye's thanksgiving beard ;<sup>\*</sup>  
 Prepost'rously t' entice and gain  
 Those to adore 'em they disdain ; 190

<sup>4</sup> *Lay trains of amorous intrigues,  
 In tow'rs, and curls, and periwigs,]*

— tanta est quærendi cura decoris  
 Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum  
 Ædificat caput. Andromachen a fronte videbis  
 Post minor est. — Juvenal vi. 500.

If we may judge by figures on the imperial coins, even the most expert of modern hair-dressers are far inferior in their business to the ancients.

<sup>\*</sup> *With greater art and cunning rear'd,  
 Than Philip Nye's thanksgiving beard ;]* Nye first entered at Brazen-nose college, Oxford, and afterwards removed to Magdalen-hall. He took his degrees, and then went to Holland. In 1640 he returned home a furious presbyterian ; and was sent to Scotland to forward the covenant. He then became a strenuous preacher on the side of the independents : was put into Dr. Featly's living at Acton, and went there every Sunday in a coach with four horses. He opposed Lilly the astrologer with great violence, and for this service was rewarded with the office of holding forth upon thanksgiving days. Wherefore

He thought upon it, and resolv'd to put  
 His beard into as wonderful a cut.

Butler's MS.

This preacher's beard is honoured with an entire poem in Butler's *Genuine Remains*, published by Thyer, vol. i. p. 177. When the head of a celebrated court chaplain and preacher had been dressed in a superior style, the friseur exclaimed, with a mixture of admiration and self-applause, " I'll be hang'd if any person of taste can " attend to one word of the sermon to-day."

And only draw 'em in to clog,  
 With idle names, a catalogue.\*  
 A lover is, the more he's brave,  
 T' his mistress but the more a slave;'<sup>7</sup>  
 And whatsoever she commands, 195  
 Becomes a favour from her hands,  
 Which he's oblig'd t' obey, and must,  
 Whether it be unjust or just.  
 Then when he is compell'd by her  
 T' adventures he wou'd else forbear, 200  
 Who, with his honour, can withstand,  
 Since force is greater than command?  
 And when necessity's obey'd,  
 Nothing can be unjust or bad :<sup>8</sup>  
 And therefore, when the mighty pow'rs 205  
 Of love, our great ally, and your's,

\* *And only draw 'em in to clog,  
 With idle names, a catalogue.*] To increase the list of their dis-  
 carded suitors.

' *A lover is, the more he's brave,  
 T' his mistress but the more a slave:*] The poet may here possi-  
 bly allude to some well known characters of his time. "The lady  
 "Dysert came to have so much power over the lord Lauderdale,  
 "that it lessened him very much in the esteem of all the world; for  
 "he delivered himself up to all her humours and passions." Burnet's  
 History, vol. i. p. 244. Anne Clarges, at first the mistress, and  
 afterward the wife of general Monk, duke of Albemarle, gained the  
 most undue influence over that intrepid commander. Though never  
 afraid of bullets, he was often terrified by the fury of his wife.

<sup>8</sup> *And when necessity's obey'd,  
 Nothing can be unjust or bad:*] *Necessitas non habet legem*, is  
 a known proverb. Δείνῃς ἀνάγκῃς οὐδὲν ἰσχύει πλῆον: Euripidis  
 Helenâ. Pareatur necessitati, quam ne dii quidem superant.—Livy.

Join'd forces not to be withstood  
 By frail enamour'd flesh and blood,  
 All I have done, unjust or ill, .  
 Was in obedience to your will, 210  
 And all the blame that can be due  
 Falls to your cruelty, and you.  
 Nor are those scandals I confest,  
 Against my will and interest,  
 More than is daily done, of course, 215  
 By all men, when they're under force :  
 Whence some, upon the rack, confess  
 What th' hangman and their prompters please ;  
 But are no sooner out of pain,  
 Than they deny it all again. 220  
 But when the devil turns confessor,\*  
 Truth is a crime, he takes no pleasure  
 To hear or pardon, like the founder  
 Of liars, whom they all claim under :<sup>1</sup>

\* *But when the devil turns confessor,*] Suppose we read :

— when a devil turns confessor.

<sup>1</sup> ——— like the founder

*Of liars, whom they all claim under :*] See St. John, ch. viii.

v. 44. Butler, in his MS. Common-place book, says :

As lyars, with long use of telling lyes,  
 Forget at length if they are true or false,  
 So those that plod on any thing too long  
 Know nothing whether th' are in the right or wrong,  
 For what are all your demonstrations else,  
 But to the higher powers of sense appeals ;  
 Senses that th' undervalue and contemn  
 As if it lay below their wits and them.



And therefore when I told him none, 225  
 I think it was the wiser done.  
 Nor am I without precedent,  
 The first that on th' adventure went ;  
 All mankind ever did of course,  
 And daily does the same, or worse. 230  
 For what romance can shew a lover,  
 That had a lady to recover,  
 And did not steer a nearer course,  
 To fall aboard in his amours ?  
 And what at first was held a crime, 235  
 Has turn'd to hon'rabl in time.

To what a height did infant Rome,  
 By ravishing of women, come ?<sup>a</sup>  
 When men upon their spouses seiz'd,  
 And freely marry'd where they pleas'd, 240  
 They ne'er forswore themselves, nor ly'd,  
 Nor, in the mind they were in, dy'd ;  
 Nor took the pains t' address and sue,  
 Nor play'd the masquerade to woo :  
 Disdain'd to stay for friends' consents, 245  
 Nor juggled about settlements ;

<sup>a</sup> *To what a height did infant Rome,*

*By ravishing of women, come ?*] Florus says that Romulus, wanting inhabitants for his new city, erected an asylum or sanctuary for robbers in a neighbouring grove, and presently he had people in abundance. But this was a people only for an age, a colony only of males, therefore they had still to supply themselves with wives, and not obtaining them from their neighbours on a civil application, they took them by force.

Did need no license, nor no priest,  
 Nor friends, nor kindred, to assist ;  
 Nor lawyers, to join land and money  
 In the holy state of matrimony, 250  
 Before they settled hands and hearts,  
 Till alimony or death departs ;<sup>3</sup>  
 Nor wou'd endure to stay, until  
 Th' had got the very bride's good-will,  
 But took a wise and shorter course 255  
 To win the ladies—downright force ;  
 And justly made 'em prisoners then,  
 As they have, often since, us men,  
 With acting plays, and dancing jigs,<sup>4</sup>  
 The luckiest of all love's intrigues ; 260  
 And when they had them at their pleasure,  
 They talk'd of love and flames at leisure ;  
 For after matrimony's over,  
 He that holds out but half a lover,  
 Deserves, for ev'ry minute, more 265  
 Than half a year of love before ;  
 For which the dames, in contemplation  
 Of that best way of application,

<sup>3</sup> *Till alimony or death departs ;*] Thus printed in some editions of the Prayer Book, afterwards altered, “ ’till death us do part,” as mentioned in a former note. Suppose we here read, according to some editions, ‘Till alimony, or death *them parts*.

<sup>4</sup> *With acting plays, and dancing jigs,*] *Simulatis quippe ludis equestribus, virgines, quæ ad spectaculum venerant, præda fuere.* Pretending to exhibit some fine shews and diversions, they drew together a concourse of young women, and seized them for their wives.

Prov'd nobler wives than e'er were known,  
 By suit, or treaty, to be won ;<sup>a</sup> 270  
 And such as all posterity  
 Cou'd never equal, nor come nigh.

For women first were made for men,  
 Not men for them.—It follows, then,  
 That men have right to every one, 275  
 And they no freedom of their own ;  
 And therefore men have pow'r to chuse,  
 But they no charter to refuse.  
 Hence 'tis apparent that what course  
 Soe'er we take to your amours, 280  
 Though by the indirectest way,  
 'Tis not injustice nor foul play ;  
 And that you ought to take that course,  
 As we take you, for better or worse,  
 And gratefully submit to those 285  
 Who you, before another, chose.  
 For why shou'd ev'ry savage beast  
 Exceed his great lord's interest ?<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Prov'd nobler wives than e'er were known,*

*By suit, or treaty, to be won ;*] When the Sabines came with a large army to demand their daughters, and the two nations were preparing to decide the matter by fight, *sævientibus intervenere raptæ, laceris comis*—the women who had been carried away, ran between the armies with expressions of grief, and effected a reconciliation.

<sup>a</sup> *For why should ev'ry savage beast*

*Exceed his great lord's interest ?*] That is, man, sometimes called lord of the world :

Man of all creatures the most fierce and wild  
 That ever God made or the devil spoil'd :  
 The most courageous of men, by want,  
 As well as honour, are made valiant. Butler's MS.

Have freer pow'r than he, in grace,  
 And nature, o'er the creature has ? 290  
 Because the laws he since has made  
 Have cut off all the pow'r he had ;  
 Retrench'd the absolute dominion  
 That nature gave him over women ;  
 When all his pow'r will not extend 295  
 One law of nature to suspend ;  
 And but to offer to repeal  
 The smallest clause, is to repel.  
 This, if men rightly understood  
 Their privilege, they would make good, 300  
 And not, like sots, permit their wives  
 T' encroach on their prerogatives,  
 For which sin they deserve to be  
 Kept, as they are, in slavery :  
 And this some precious gifted teachers,<sup>7</sup> 305  
 Unrev'rently reputed leachers,  
 And disobey'd in making love,  
 Have vow'd to all the world to prove,  
 And make ye suffer as you ought,  
 For that uncharitable fault : 310  
 But I forget myself, and rove  
 Beyond th' instructions of my love.  
 Forgive me, Fair, and only blame  
 Th' extravagancy of my flame,  
 Since 'tis too much, at once to show 315  
 Excess of love and temper too ;

<sup>7</sup> *And this some precious gifted teachers,]* Mr. Case, as some have supposed, but according to others, Dr. Burgess, or Hugh Peters.

All I have said that's bad and true,  
Was never meant to aim at you,  
Who have so sov'reign a controul  
O'er that poor slave of your's, my soul, 320  
That, rather than to forfeit you,  
Has ventur'd loss of heav'n too ;  
Both with an equal pow'r possest,  
To render all that serve you blest ;  
But none like him, who's destin'd either 325  
To have or lose you both together ;  
And if you'll but this fault release,  
For so it must be, since you please,  
I'll pay down all that vow, and more,  
Which you commanded, and I swore, 330  
And expiate, upon my skin,  
Th' arrears in full of all my sin :  
For 'tis but just that I should pay  
Th' accruing penance for delay,  
Which shall be done, until it move 335  
Your equal pity and your love.

The Knight, perusing this Epistle,  
Believ'd he 'ad brought her to his whistle ;  
And read it, like a jocund lover,  
With great applause, t' himself, twice over ; 340  
Subscrib'd his name, but at a fit  
And humble distance, to his wit :  
And dated it with wondrous art,  
Giv'n from the bottom of his heart ;

Then seal'd it with his coat of love, 345  
 A smoking faggot—and above  
 Upon a scroll—I burn, and weep—  
 And near it—For her ladyship,  
 Of all her sex most excellent,  
 These to her gentle hands present.\* 350  
 Then gave it to his faithful squire,  
 With lessons how t' observe, and eye her.  
 She first consider'd which was better,  
 To send it back, or burn the letter :  
 But guessing that it might import, 355  
 Tho' nothing else, at least her sport,  
 She open'd it, and read it out,  
 With many a smile and leering flout :  
 Resolv'd to answer it in kind,  
 And thus perform'd what she design'd. 360

\* *Of all her sex most excellent,*

*These to her gentle hands present.*] It was fashionable before Mr. Butler's time to be prolix in the superscription of letters. Common forms were,—To my much honoured friend—To the most excellent lady—To my loving cousin—These present with care and speed, &c.



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THE  
LADY'S ANSWER  
TO THE  
KNIGHT.

THAT you're a beast and turn'd to grass,  
 Is no strange news, nor ever was ;  
 At least to me, who once, you know,  
 Did from the pound replevin you,<sup>1</sup>  
 When both your sword and spurs were won   5  
 In combat, by an Amazon ;  
 That sword that did, like fate, determine  
 Th' inevitable death of vermin,  
 And never dealt its furious blows,  
 But cut the throats of pigs and cows,           10  
 By Trulla was, in single fight,  
 Disarm'd and wrested from its Knight,  
 Your heels degraded of your spurs,  
 And in the stocks close prisoners :  
 Where still they'd lain, in base restraint,       15  
 If I, in pity of your complaint,  
 Had not, on hon'able conditions,  
 Released 'em from the worst of prisons ;

<sup>1</sup> *Did from the pound replevin you,]* A replevin is a *re-deliverance* of the thing distrained, to remain with the first possessor on security.



And what return that favour met,  
 You cannot, tho' you wou'd forget; 20  
 When being free, you strove t' evade,  
 The oaths you had in prison made;  
 Forswore yourself, and first deny'd it,  
 But after own'd, and justify'd it:  
 And when y' had falsely broke one vow, 25  
 Absolv'd yourself, by breaking two.  
 For while you sneakingly submit,  
 And beg for pardon at our feet;<sup>a</sup>  
 Discourag'd by your guilty fears,  
 To hope for quarter, for your ears; 30  
 And doubting 'twas in vain to sue,  
 You claim us boldly as your due,  
 Declare that treachery and force,  
 To deal with us, is th' only course;  
 We have no title nor pretence 35  
 To body, soul, or conscience,  
 But ought to fall to that man's share  
 That claims us for his proper ware:  
 These are the motives which, t' induce,  
 Or fright us into love, you use; 40  
 A pretty new way of gallanting,  
 Between soliciting and ranting;  
 Like sturdy beggars, that intreat  
 For charity at once, and threat.  
 But since you undertake to prove 45  
 Your own propriety in love,

<sup>a</sup> *And beg for pardon at our feet;*] The widow, to keep up her dignity and importance, speaks of herself in the plural number.

As if we were but lawful prize  
 In war, between two enemies,  
 Or forfeitures which ev'ry lover,  
 That would but sue for, might recover, 50  
 It is not hard to understand  
 The myst'ry of this bold demand,  
 That cannot at our persons aim,  
 But something capable of claim.<sup>a</sup>  
 'Tis not those paltry counterfeit, 55  
 French stones, which in our eyes you set,  
 But our right diamonds, that inspire  
 And set your am'rous hearts on fire ;  
 Nor can those false St. Martin's beads <sup>4</sup>  
 Which on our lips you lay for reds, 60  
 And make us wear like Indian dames,<sup>b</sup>  
 Add fuel to your scorching flames,  
 But those two rubies of the rock,  
 Which in our cabinets we lock.  
 'Tis not those orient pearls, our teeth,<sup>c</sup> 65  
 That you are so transported with,

<sup>a</sup> *But something capable of claim.*] Their property.

<sup>b</sup> *Nor can those false Saint Martin's beads*] That is, artificial jewels. How they came to be called Saint Martin's beads I know not; unless from St. Martino near mount Vesuvius, where the ejected lava is collected and applied to this purpose. Mr. Montague Bacon says, that at Rochelle, not far from St. Martin's, there is a sort of red stones called St. Martin's beads.

<sup>c</sup> *Which on our lips you lay for reds,*

*And make us wear like Indian dames,*] Female savages in many parts of the globe wear ornaments of fish bone, or glass when they can get it, on their lips and noses.

<sup>d</sup> *'Tis not those orient pearls, our teeth,*] In the History of Don

But those we wear about our necks,  
 Produce those amorous effects.  
 Nor is 't those threads of gold, our hair,  
 The periwigs you make us wear ; 70  
 But those bright guineas in our chests,  
 That light the wildfire in your breasts.  
 These love-tricks I've been vers'd in so,  
 That all their sly intrigues I know,  
 And can unriddle, by their tones, 75  
 Their mystic cabals, and jargones ;  
 Can tell what passions, by their sounds,  
 Pine for the beauties of my grounds ;  
 What raptures fond and amorous,  
 O' th' charms and graces of my house ; 80  
 What extasy and scorching flame,  
 Burns for my money in my name ;  
 What from th' unnatural desire,  
 To beasts and cattle, takes its fire ;

Fenise, a romance translated from the Spanish of Francisco de las Coveras, and printed 1656, mentioned by Dr. Grey, p. 269, is the following passage : " My covetousness exceeding my love, counselled me that it was better to have gold in money than in threads of hair ; and to possess pearls that resemble teeth, than teeth that were like pearls."

In praising Chloris, moons, and stars, and skies,  
 Are quickly made to match her face and eyes ;  
 And gold and rubies, with as little care,  
 To fit the colour of her lips and hair :  
 And mixing suns, and flow'rs, and pearl, and stones,  
 Make them serve all complexions at once :  
 With these fine fancies at hap-hazard writ,  
 I could make verses without art or wit.

Butler's Remains, v. i. p. 88.

What tender sigh, and trickling tear, 85  
 Longs for a thousand pounds a-year ;  
 And languishing transports are fond  
 Of statute, mortgage, bill, and bond.<sup>7</sup>

These are th' attracts which most men fall  
 Enamour'd, at first sight, withal ; 90  
 To these th' address with serenades,  
 And court with balls and masquerades ;  
 And yet, for all the yearning pain  
 Ye've suffer'd for their loves in vain,  
 I fear they'll prove so nice and coy,  
 To have, and t' hold, and to enjoy ; 95  
 That all your oaths and labour lost,  
 They'll ne'er turn ladies of the post.<sup>8</sup>  
 This is not meant to disapprove  
 Your judgment, in your choice of love, 100  
 Which is so wise, the greatest part  
 Of mankind study't as an art ;  
 For love shou'd, like a deodand,  
 Still fall to th' owner of the land ;<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Of statute, mortgage, bill and bond.*] Statute is a short writing called Statute Marchant, or Statute Staple, in the nature of a bond, &c. made according to the form expressly provided in certain statutes, 5th Hen. iv. c. 12, and others.

<sup>8</sup> *They'll ne'er turn ladies of the post.*] That is, will never swear for you, or vow to take you for a husband.

<sup>9</sup> *For love should, like a deodand,*

*Fall to th' owner of the land ;*] Any moving thing which occasions the death of a man is forfeited to the lord of the manor. It was originally intended that he should dispose of it in acts of charity : hence the name deodand. Or it is a thing given, or rather forfeited to God, for the pacification of his wrath, in case of misadventure,

And where there's substance for its ground, 105  
 Cannot but be more firm and sound,<sup>1</sup>  
 Than that which has the slighter basis  
 Of airy virtue, wit, and graces ;  
 Which is of such thin subtlety,  
 It steals and creeps in at the eye, 110  
 And, as it can't endure to stay,  
 Steals out again, as nice a way.<sup>2</sup>

But love, that its extraction owns  
 From solid gold and precious stones,  
 Must, like its shining parents, prove 115  
 As solid, and as glorious love.  
 Hence 'tis you have no way t' express  
 Our charms and graces but by these ;  
 For what are lips, and eyes, and teeth,<sup>3</sup>  
 Which beauty invades and conquers with, 120

whereby any christian man cometh to a violent end, without the fault of any reasonable creature. Lewis XIV. and others born of mothers that had long been barren, were called Adeodati.

<sup>1</sup> *And where there's substance for its ground,  
 Cannot but be more firm and sound,]*

Optima sed quare Cesennia teste marito ?  
 Bis quingenta dedit, tanti vocat ille pudicam ;  
 Nec Veneris pharetris macer est ; aut lampade fervet :  
 Inde faces ardent, veniunt a dote sagittæ.

Juvenal vi. 135.

<sup>2</sup> *Steals out again, as nice a way.]* Farquhar has this thought in his dialogue between Archer and Cherry. See the *Beaux Stratagem*.

<sup>3</sup> *For what are lips, and eyes, and teeth,]*

τίμι δ' εὐδύλωται ποτε ;  
 "Ὅψι ; φλύαρία.—Menand. Fragm.

But rubies, pearls, and diamonds,  
With which, a philter love commands ?<sup>4</sup>

This is the way all parents prove,  
In managing their children's love ;  
That force 'em t' intermarry and wed, 125  
As if th' were burying of the dead ;  
Cast earth to earth, as in the grave,  
To join in wedlock all they have,  
And, when the settlement's in force,  
Take all the rest for better or worse ; 130  
For money has a pow'r above  
The stars, and fate, to manage love,<sup>5</sup>  
Whose arrows, learned poets hold,  
'That never miss, are tipp'd with gold.<sup>6</sup>  
And tho' some say, the parents' claims 135  
To make love in their children's names,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *With which, a philter love commands ?*] Suppose we read, as in some editions, *With which as philters love commands*.

<sup>5</sup> *For money has a pow'r above*

*The stars, and fate, to manage love,]*

Et genus et formam regina Pecunia donat,  
Ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.

Hor. Epist. lib. i. vi. 37.

Ἐγὼ δ' ἐπέλαβον χρησίμους εἶναι θεοὺς

Τ' ἀργύριον ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ χρυσίον μόνον.—Menand. Frag.

<sup>6</sup> *Whose arrows, learned poets hold,*

*That never miss, are tipp'd with gold.]* In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, i. 468, Cupid employs two arrows, one of gold, and the other of lead : the former causing love, the latter aversion.

Equæ sagittiferâ prompsit duo tela pharetrâ  
Diversorum operum : fugat hoc, facit illud amorem.  
Quod facit auratum est, et cuspide fulget acutâ :  
Quod fugat obtusum est, et habet sub arundine plumbum.

<sup>7</sup> *And tho' some say the parents' claims*

*To make love in their children's names,]* Though it is thus

Who, many times, at once provide  
 The nurse, the husband, and the bride,  
 Feel darts and charms, attracts and flames,  
 And woo, and contract, in their names, 140  
 And as they christen, use to marry 'em,  
 And, like their gossips, answer for 'em  
 Is not to give in matrimony,  
 But sell and prostitute for money.  
 'Tis better than their own 'et rothing, 145  
 Who often do't for worse than nothing;  
 And when they're at their own dispose,  
 With greater disadvantage choose.  
 All this is right; but, for the course  
 You take to do't, by fraud or force, 150  
 'Tis so ridiculous, as soon  
 As told, 'tis never to be done,<sup>a</sup>  
 No more than setters can betray,<sup>b</sup>  
 That tell what tricks they are to play.  
 Marriage, at best, is but a vow, 155  
 Which all men either break, or bow;

printed in all the copies I have seen, yet *claim* and *name* should seem  
 a better reading, to avoid false concord: for *claim* is the nominative  
 case to *Is* in verse 143.

<sup>a</sup> 'Tis so ridiculous, as soon

*As told, 'tis never to be done,*] See P. i. c. ii. l. 676:

Shall dictum factum both be brought  
 To condign punishment.

<sup>b</sup> *No more than setters can betray,*] Setter, a term frequent in the  
 comedies of the last century: sometimes it seems to be a pimp,  
 sometimes a spy, but most usually an attendant on a cheating  
 gamester, who introduces unpractised youths to be pillaged, by him;  
 what a setting dog is to a sportsman.

Then what will those forbear to do,  
 Who perjure when they do but woo ?  
 Such as beforehand swear and lie,  
 For earnest to their treachery, 160  
 And, rather than a crime confess,  
 With greater strive to make it less :  
 Like thieves, who, after sentence past,  
 Maintain their inn'cence to the last ;  
 And when their crimes were made appear, 165  
 As plain as witnesses can swear,  
 Yet when the wretches come to die,  
 Will take upon their death a lie.  
 Nor are the virtues you confess'd  
 T' your ghostly father, as you guess'd, 170  
 So slight as to be justify'd,  
 By being as shamefully deny'd ;  
 As if you thought your word would pass,  
 Point-blank on both sides of a case ;  
 Or credit were not to be lost 175  
 B' a brave knight-errant of the post,  
 That eats perfidiously his word,  
 And swears his ears thro' a two-inch board ;<sup>1</sup>  
 Can own the same thing, and disown,  
 And perjure booty pro and con ; 180

<sup>1</sup> *That eats perfidiously his word,*

*And swears his ears thro' a two-inch board ;*] That is, endeavours to shield himself from the punishment due to perjury, the loss of his ears, by a desperate perseverance in false swearing. A person is said to swear through a two-inch board, when he makes oath of any thing which was concealed from him by a thick door or partition.



Can make the Gospel serve his turn,  
 And help him out to be forsworn ;  
 When 'tis laid hands upon, and kist,  
 To be betray'd and sold, like Christ.  
 These are the virtues in whose name 185  
 A right to all the world you claim,  
 And boldly challenge a dominion,  
 In grace and nature, o'er all women ;  
 Of whom no less will satisfy,  
 Than all the sex, your tyranny : 190  
 Altho' you'll find it a hard province,  
 With all your crafty frauds and covins,\*  
 To govern such a num'rous crew,  
 Who, one by one, now govern you ;  
 For if you all were Solomons, 195  
 And wise and great as he was once,  
 You'll find they're able to subdue,  
 As they did him, and baffle you.  
 And if you are impos'd upon,  
 'Tis by your own temptation done : 200  
 That with your ignorance invite,  
 And teach us how to use the slight.  
 For when we find ye're still more taken  
 With false attracts of our own making,  
 Swear that 's a rose, and that 's a stone, 205  
 Like sots, to us that laid it on,

\* *With all your crafty frauds and covins,*] Covin is a term of law,  
 signifying a deceitful compact between two or more, to deceive or  
 prejudice others.

And what we did but slightly prime,  
 Most ignorantly daub in rhyme ;  
 You force us, in our own defences,  
 To copy beams and influences ; 210  
 To lay perfections on the graces,  
 And draw attracts upon our faces ;  
 And, in compliance to your wit,  
 Your own false jewels counterfeit :  
 For, by the practice of those arts, 215  
 We gain a greater share of hearts ;  
 And those deserve in reason most,  
 That greatest pains and study cost ;  
 For great perfections are, like heav'n,  
 Too rich a present to be giv'n : 220  
 Nor are those master-strokes of beauty  
 To be perform'd without hard duty,  
 Which, when they're nobly done, and well,  
 The simple natural excel.  
 How fair and sweet the planted rose,\* 225  
 Beyond the wild in hedges grows !

\* *How fair and sweet the planted rose,*] This and the following lines are beautiful. Mr. Bacon supposes, that the poet alludes to Milton, when he says,

Though paradise were e'er so fair,  
 It was not kept so without care.

The moral sense of the passage may be found in Horace, lib. iv. O. 4.

Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam  
 Rectique cultus pectora roborant.

And the sweetness of the verse in Catull. Carm. Nuptial. 39, &c.

Ut flos in septis secretus nascitur hortis,  
 Ignotus pecori, nullo contusus aratro,  
 Quem mulcent auræ, firmat sol, educat imber.

For, without art, the noblest seeds  
 Of flowers degenerate into weeds :  
 How dull and rugged, ere 'tis ground,  
 And polish'd, looks a diamond ? 230  
 Though paradise were e'er so fair,  
 It was not kept so without care.  
 The whole world, without art and dress,  
 Would be but one great wilderness ;  
 And mankind but a savage herd, 235  
 For all that nature has conferr'd :  
 This does but rough-hew and design,  
 Leaves art to polish and refine.  
 Though women first were made for men,  
 Yet men were made for them agen : 240  
 For when, out-witted by his wife,  
 Man first turn'd tenant but for life,<sup>4</sup>  
 If woman had not interven'd,  
 How soon had mankind had an end !  
 And that it is in being yet, 245  
 To us alone you are in debt.  
 Then where's your liberty of choice,  
 And our unnatural no-voice ?  
 Since all the privilege you boast,  
 And falsely usurp'd, or vainly lost, 250  
 Is now our right, to whose creation  
 You owe your happy restoration.

<sup>4</sup> *For when, out-witted by his wife,*

*Man first turn'd tenant but for life,]* i. e. When man became subject to death by eating the forbidden fruit at the persuasion of the woman.

And if we had not weighty cause  
 To not appear in making laws,  
 We cou'd, in spite of all your tricks, 255  
 And shallow formal politics,  
 Force you our managements t' obey,  
 As we to yours, in shew, give way.  
 Hence 'tis, that while you vainly strive  
 T' advance your high prerogative, 260  
 You basely, after all your braves,  
 Submit and own yourselves our slaves ;  
 And 'cause we do not make it known,  
 Nor publicly our int'rests own,  
 Like sots, suppose we have no shares 265  
 In ord'ring you, and your affairs,  
 When all your empire, and command,  
 You have from us, at second hand ;  
 As if a pilot, that appears  
 To sit still only, while he steers, 270  
 And does not make a noise and stir,  
 Like ev'ry common mariner,  
 Knew nothing of the chart, nor star,  
 And did not guide the man of war :  
 Nor we, because we don't appear 275  
 In councils, do not govern there :  
 While, like the mighty Prester John,  
 Whose person none dares look upon,<sup>s</sup>

<sup>s</sup> *While, like the mighty Prester John,*

*Whose person none dares look upon,]* The name or title of Prester John, has been given by travellers to the king of Tenduc in Asia, who, like the Abyssine, or Ethiopian emperors, preserved great

But is preserv'd in close disguise,  
 From b'ing made cheap to vulgar eyes, 280  
 W' enjoy as large a pow'r unseen,  
 To govern him, as he does men :  
 And, in the right of our Pope Joan,  
 Make emp'rors at our feet fall down ;  
 Or Joan de Pucelle's braver name, 285  
 Our right to arms and conduct claim ;  
 Who, tho' a spinster, yet was able  
 To serve France for a grand constable.  
 We make and execute all laws,  
 Can judge the judges, and the cause ; 290  
 Prescribe all rules of right or wrong,  
 To th' long robe, and the longer tongue,  
 'Gainst which the world has no defence,  
 But our more pow'rful eloquence.  
 We manage things of greatest weight 295  
 In all the world's affairs of state ;  
 Are ministers of war and peace,  
 That sway all nations how we please.

state, and did not condescend to be seen by his subjects above twice or three times in a year. Mandeville, who pretends to have travelled over Prester John's country, and is very prolix on the subject, makes him sovereign of an archipelago of isles in India beyond Bactria, and says that, " a former emperor travelled into Egypt, " where being present at divine service, he asked who those persons " were that stood before the bishop ? And being told they should be " priests, he said, he would no more be called king, nor emperor, " but priest ; and would have the name of him that came first out " of the priests, and was called John, and so have all the emperors " since been called Prester John."—Cap. 99.



A Cooper sculpt.

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*For a short time.*

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We rule all churches, and their flocks,  
 Heretical and orthodox, 300  
 And are the heavenly vehicles  
 O' th' spirits in all conventicles :<sup>6</sup>  
 By us is all commerce and trade  
 Improv'd, and manag'd, and decay'd :  
 For nothing can go off so well, 305  
 Nor bears that price, as what we sell.  
 We rule in ev'ry public meeting,  
 And make men do what we judge fitting ;<sup>7</sup>  
 Are magistrates in all great towns,  
 Where men do nothing but wear gowns. 310  
 We make the man of war strike sail,  
 And to our braver conduct veil,  
 And, when he 'as chas'd his enemies,  
 Submit to us upon his knees.  
 Is there an officer of state, 315  
 Untimely rais'd, or magistrate,  
 That's haughty and imperious ?  
 He's but a journeyman to us,  
 That, as he gives us cause to do't,  
 Can keep him in, or turn him out. 320  
 We are your guardians, that increase,  
 Or waste your fortunes how we please ;

<sup>6</sup> *And are the heavenly vehicles*

*O' th' spirits in all conventicles :*] As good vehicles at least as the cloak-bag, which was said to have conveyed the same from Rome to the council of Trent.

<sup>7</sup> *We rule in ev'ry public meeting,*

*And make men do what we judge fitting ;*] A great part of what is here said on the political influence of women, was aimed at the court of Charles II. or perhaps at the wife of general Monk.

And, as you humour us, can deal  
In all your matters, ill or well.  
'Tis we that can dispose alone, 325  
Whether your heirs shall be your own ;  
To whose integrity you must,  
In spite of all your caution, trust ;  
And, less you fly beyond the seas,  
Can fit you with what heirs we please ; 330  
And force you t' own them, tho' begotten  
By French valets, or Irish footmen.  
Nor can the rigourousest course  
Prevail, unless to make us worse ;  
Who still, the harsher we are us'd, 335  
Are further off from b'ing reduc'd ;  
And scorn t' abate, for any ills,  
The least punctilio of our wills,  
Force does but whet our wits t' apply  
Arts, born with us, for remedy, 340  
Which all your politics, as yet,  
Have ne'er been able to defeat :  
For, when ye've try'd all sorts of ways,  
What fools do we make of you in plays ?  
While all the favours we afford, 345  
Are but to girt you with the sword,  
To fight our battles in our steads,  
And have your brains beat out o' your heads ;  
Encounter, in despite of nature,  
And fight, at once, with fire and water, 350  
With pirates, rocks, and storms, and seas,  
Our pride and vanity t' appease ;

Kill one another, and cut throats,  
 For our good graces, and best thoughts ;  
 To do your exercise for honour, 355  
 And have your brains beat out the sooner ;  
 Or crack'd, as learnedly, upon  
 Things that are never to be known :  
 And still appear the more industrious,  
 The more your projects are prepost'rous, 360  
 To square the circle of the arts,  
 And run stark mad to shew your parts ;  
 Expound the oracle of laws,  
 And turn them which way we see cause ;  
 Be our solicitors, and agents, 365  
 And stand for us in all engagements.  
 And these are all the mighty pow'rs  
 You vainly boast to cry down ours ;  
 And what in real value's wanting,  
 Supply with vapouring and ranting : 370  
 Because yourselves are terrify'd,  
 And stoop to one another's pride :  
 Believe we have as little wit  
 To be out-hector'd, and submit :  
 By your example, lose that right 375  
 In treaties, which we gain'd in fight :<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *By your example, lose that right*

*In treaties, which we gain'd in fight :*] England, in every period of her history, has been thought more successful in war than in negotiation. Congreve, reflecting upon queen Anne's last ministry, in his epistle to lord Cobham, says :

Be far that guilt, be never known that shame,  
 That Britain should retract her rightful claim,  
 Or stain with pen the triumphs of her sword !

And terrify'd into an awe,  
 Pass on ourselves a salique law ;<sup>a</sup>  
 Or, as some nations use, give place,  
 And truckle to your mighty race : 380  
 Let men usurp th' unjust dominion,  
 As if they were the better women.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Pass on ourselves a salique law ;* ] The salique law debars the succession of females to some inheritances. Thus knights fees, or lands holden of the crown by knights service, are in some parts, as the learned Selden observes, *terræ salicæ* : males only are allowed to inherit such lands, because the females cannot perform the services for which they are granted. See Selden's notes on the eighteenth song of Drayton's *Polyolbion*. The French have extended this law to the inheritance of the crown itself. See Shakspeare, Henry V. Act i. scene ii.

<sup>1</sup> *Let men usurp th' unjust dominion,*

*As if they were the better women.* ] The Lady concludes with great spirit : but it may be that the influence of the sex has not been much over-rated by her. Aristophanes hath two entire plays to demonstrate, ironically, the superiority of the female sex. See v. 538 of the *Lysistrata*.

In Butler's Common-place Book, are the following lines under the article *Nature* and *Art* :

The most divine of all the works of nature  
 Was not to make model, but the matter :  
 A man may build without design and rules,  
 But not without materials and tools ;  
 This lady, like a fish's row, had room  
 For such a shoal of infants in her womb :  
 The truest glasses naturally misplace  
 The lineaments and features of her face,  
 The right and left still counterchange,  
 And in the rooms of one another range ;  
 Nature denies brute animals expression,  
 Because they are incapable of reason.

Precious stones not only do foretell  
 The dire effects of poison, but repell

**When no one person's able t' understand  
The vast stupendous uses of the hand ;  
The only engine helps the wit of man,  
To bring the world in compass of a span :  
From raising mighty fabrics on the seas,  
To filing chains to fit the necks of fleas,  
The left hand is but deputy to the right,  
That for a journeyman is wont t' employ 't.**



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THE END.

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